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ABRAHAM COWLEY

THE ESSAYS AND
OTHER PROSE WRITINGS

EDITED BY

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INTRODUCTION

ABRAHAM COWLEY was the seventh and posthumous child of Thomas Cowley, a prosperous stationer (or, according to Dr. Johnson, a grocer) and citizen of London, and was born in the parish of St. Dunstan in the West, Fleet Street, late in the year 1618. He thus belongs to the group of poets between Milton and Dryden, the generation of Crashaw, Henry More, and Vaughan, of Butler, Cleveland, Denham, Lovelace, and Marvell. In their several ways these writers mark the transition from the rich, exuberant fancy of the Elizabethan tradition to the more formal, logical, and prosaic manner of the 'classical' age. In poetic fame Cowley outshone them all in his own day, though now he is chiefly remembered for the unaffected and graceful prose contained in the present volume.

The rare precocity of the child's mind was probably stimulated by the companionship of his older brothers and sisters, while his mother, who read only books of devotion, gave his thoughts a serious bent, and his language a biblical colouring. Cowley has told us in his essay 'Of Myself' how his poetic fancy and ambition were kindled through his finding Spenser's *Faerie Queene* in the house, and reading it to the end before he was twelve. The writing of *The Tragicall*

Historie of Pyramus and Thisbe in his eleventh year was a feat for which it would be hard to find a parallel. It is a well-constructed narrative in the romantic Elizabethan manner, written in thirty-five smoothly-flowing stanzas of a type invented by himself. *Constantia and Philetus*, a poem in a similar vein, but of greater length, followed two years later. About the same time Cowley entered Westminster School as a King's scholar. The school was associated with the party that was struggling for the rights of the Commons against the King, through its head master, Lambert Osbaldeston, and Dr. Williams, Dean of Westminster. To both of these men Cowley addressed youthful poems, and their influence must have inclined him towards political moderation.

Of his life at Westminster Cowley has given us a glimpse in the above-mentioned essay. We see a thoughtful, precocious boy, who constructs the rules of Latin grammar from the authors he reads rather than learn them by rote, who prefers to spend a holiday, not in boisterous sports, but in a quiet country walk with a book or a like-minded companion. Westminster was a forcing-house for the infant prodigy. His early poems were printed under the title of *Poeticall Blossoms* in 1633, with eulogies by schoolfellows prefixed, in the extravagant manner of the day. In a few years the volume reached a third edition, and was followed in 1636 by *Sylva*, another slender volume of miscellaneous verse. At sixteen he wrote, in imitation of Randolph's *Jealous Lovers*, the clever pastoral comedy of *Love's Riddle* (not printed till 1638), for performance by his schoolfellows.

In the fluent imitative verse of Cowley's school-days we may trace the same well-worn motives, derived from Horace and other Roman poets, that dominate the essays of his latest years—such commonplaces of the satirist and pastoral poet as the vanity of worldly ambition, the feverish bustle of city life, the bliss of rustic obscurity and leisure, the glory of a wise paternal government. Near the end of his life he quotes with approval the concluding stanzas of 'A Vote', in which the boy of fifteen, after looking round with a censorious, if not a priggish eye, on the world of action from which a native timidity and lack of enterprise deterred him, registered the resolve to live the life of a studious recluse. Saved from priggishness by a simple and affectionate nature which made him many devoted friends, Cowley, bent on literary renown, entered Cambridge in 1638 as a scholar of Trinity. His reputation had preceded him, and in a few months he was called upon to provide a comedy for the scholars, and wrote his *Naufragium Jocularare* in rough Latin prose, characterized by elementary farcical humour. It imitates Heywood's *English Traveller* (1633). It was as a young scholar, according to his biographer Sprat, that Cowley embarked upon a much more serious task, an epic poem on the troubles of David. Of this ponderous work, which was begun in Latin and re-written in English, no more than four out of the intended twelve books were ever written. Cowley provided the *Davideis*, which he did not publish until 1656, with a copious and erudite commentary. The epic closely follows Homeric and Virgilian precedent,

and, in spite of some really striking and eloquent passages, is in general too artificial, flat, and uninspired, and in places too absurd, to be read with interest. Its chief importance lies in the fact that it supplied Milton with various hints, notably in the demoniacal machinery of the first book. It is to be observed that Cowley, who in several of his earlier poems had treated the heroic couplet in the looser Elizabethan manner, adopts here the more forcible, antithetic variety of that measure which Waller and Denham were bringing into favour.

Once more, in March, 1642, Cowley was called upon to provide a play for the scholars of his college. The occasion was the visit of Charles, Prince of Wales, then only eleven years of age, to Trinity College. The comedy, entitled *The Guardian*, was hastily composed in a week. Many years after Cowley transformed it into *Cutter of Coleman Street*, the preface to which is included in the present edition. *The Guardian* is an undoubtedly clever, though somewhat crude, example of the comedy of humours of the school of Ben Jonson, in which types like the hypocritical Puritan, the roystering impudent swash-buckler, and the conceited ne'er-do-well poetaster are satirized in a style that was by this time wearing rather threadbare. Like much of Cowley's work, it illustrates his readiness to employ a versatile talent upon subjects for which his chief qualification was imitative cleverness. Just as he had too little passion and spontaneity to be a great lyric poet, his insight into character was too slight to make him an able dramatist.

His mind was essentially receptive rather than original. Throughout his life an ardent student and an ardent friend, he reflects diverse phases of the thought of his time, without adding much to it. 'Friendship and poetry', as Mr. Gosse has said, 'were the two subjects that alone set Cowley's peculiar gifts on flame. Languid and insincere on other subjects, on these two he never failed to be eloquent.' On two of his Cambridge friends he has left elegies which rank among the best and sincerest of his poems. Of a certain William Harvey, not otherwise famous, he writes on the occasion of his premature death :

He was my Friend, the truest Friend on earth ;
A strong and mighty Influence joyn'd our Birth . . .
Say, for you saw us, ye immortal Lights,
How oft unweari'd have we spent the Nights ?
Till the Ledæan Stars so fam'd for Love
 Wondred at us from above.
We spent them not in toys, in lusts, or wine ;
 But search of deep Philosophy,
 Wit, Eloquence, and Poetry,
Arts which I lov'd, for they, my Friend, were Thine.
Ye fields of Cambridge, our dear Cambridge, say,
Have ye not seen us walking every day ?
Was there a Tree about which did not know
 The Love betwixt us two ?

Cowley's other friend, Richard Crashaw, who was some six years his senior and a Fellow of Peterhouse, was a far greater and more impassioned poet than himself, though his inspired ecstasies were fitful and uncertain. He was still an Anglican, but was learning from Italian and Spanish authors the fervid and hectic enthusiasm characteristic of the Roman

piety of the day, which was soon to draw him into that communion. Cowley, who was all his life a member of the Church of England, extended a tender charity to the beliefs of his friend. In the elegy which he wrote after Crashaw's death at Loretto in 1650, after expressing the fancy that the 'poet and saint' had been wafted thither, like the Holy House, by the hands of angels, he adds :

Pardon, my Mother Church, if I consent
 That Angels led him when from thee he went,
 For even in Error sure no Danger is
 When joyn'd with so much Piety as His.
 Ah, mighty God, with shame I speak 't, and grief,
 Ah that our greatest Faults were in Belief!
 And our weak Reason were ev'en weaker yet,
 Rather then thus our Wills too strong for it.
 His Faith perhaps in some nice Tenents¹ might
 Be wrong; his Life, I'm sure, was in the right.
 And I myself a Catholick will be,
 So far at least, great Saint, to Pray to thee.
 Hail, Bard Triumphant! and some care bestow
 On us, the Poets Militant Below!
 Oppos'd by our old En'emy, adverse Chance,
 Attacqu'd by Envy, and by Ignorance. . . .

If the poet of *The Flaming Heart* failed to rouse Cowley's rather prosaic Muse to his own heights of lyrical rapture, there were others in Cambridge whose influence on him is more discernible. It was a congenial home to his gentle, meditative spirit. In those years, when England, like half Europe, was being torn asunder by religious and political fanaticism, a group of scholars had arisen in the University who aimed at the reconciliation of distracted Christendom

¹ = tenets.

through the discovery of rational aids to faith, or indeed of a natural and universal basis of religion. This movement advanced on the one hand in the direction of a rationalistic latitudinarianism, on the other hand in that of an eclectic mysticism, the so-called Cambridge Platonism, which attempted, with the aid of the Cartesian philosophy, to unite Christianity with the Platonic, Neoplatonic and Talmudic systems. Echoes of these various ideas are to be found in Cowley's writings, e. g. in the fine passage in *Davideis* ii, beginning, 'What art thou, Love, thou great mysterious thing?' or again in the poem entitled 'Reason. The use of it in Divine Matters', where in opposition alike to the Baconian school which excludes religion from the sphere of scientific study, and to the fanatics who trust to visions and inspirations and their own sickly fancies, he writes :

In vain, alas, these outward Hopes are try'd ;
Reason within's our onely Guide,
Reason, which (God be prais'd !) still Walks, for all
It's old Original Fall.
And since it self the boundless Godhead joyn'd
With a Reasonable Mind,
It plainly shows that Mysteries Divine
May with our Reason joyn.

As early as 1639 we find Cowley writing in terms of the warmest admiration of that high-minded young champion of religious and political liberalism, Lord Falkland, then on military service in Scotland. With a true presentiment he laments :

He is too good for War, and ought to be
As far from Danger, as from Fear he 's free.

It is not improbable that, like Crashaw, Cowley had joined the circle of religious and philosophical inquirers that used to gather as Falkland's guests at Great Tew. In 1643, when Cowley was at Oxford, 'though he was then very young,' writes his biographer Sprat, 'he had the entire friendship of my Lord Falkland.' One of Cowley's poems is 'Against the Dogmatists', and at a much later date we find him, in his *Proposition for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy*, recommending that the chaplain 'shall not trouble himself and his Auditors with the Controversies of Divinity, but only teach God in his just Commandments, and in his wonderful Works'. In the same pamphlet the inclusion of Grotius among the authors to be studied seems also to be significant. At the end of his life Cowley was engaged in the compilation of a Christian Eirenicon.

The head of the Cambridge Platonists during Cowley's residence was the famous Dr. Henry More of Christ's College. To his influence Mr. Gosse traces the 'pedantic ingenuity' of Cowley's lyrics. More's eccentric argumentative poem, *Psychozoia, or the First Part of the Song of the Soul*, which appeared in 1640, abounds in the same kind of far-fetched and fantastic analogies that characterize the poems of Cowley's middle period, and made Dr. Johnson regard the latter as the chief of the 'metaphysical poets'.

In 1639 Cowley became B.A., a Minor Fellow of his college in the following year, and M.A. in 1642. He was admitted a Major Fellow of Trinity, according to Anthony à Wood, on March 16, 1643²/₃, but his

name is not found in the list, and he was probably waiting for a vacancy, when the political storm broke over the University, and cut short his hopes of preferment and of the life of academic seclusion and study on which his heart was set. The suspension, flight, or imprisonment of many University and College officials and other disorders made regular study difficult, and early in 1643 Cowley migrated to Oxford, where he resided in St. John's College. For a little time he was able to enjoy the friendship of Lord Falkland, who met his untimely death at Newbury on September 20.

Two anonymous polemical poems of this period are attributed, probably justly, to Cowley, although his authorship is not beyond dispute. A satire, *The Puritan and the Papist*, by 'an Oxford scholar', was written shortly before Pym's death on December 8, 1643. The blindness to the aims and characters of the Parliamentary leaders displayed in this ingenious party squib is less unexpected than its reckless vigour and stinging wit, which is unlike anything in Cowley's acknowledged writings. To the same period must be assigned the very stilted poem in heroic couplets, *On the late Civil War*, which breaks off at Newcastle's victories in Yorkshire in 1643. The overweening confidence of the piece makes it certain that it was written before Marston Moor. It was not published till 1679, long after Cowley's death, but its authenticity is rendered probable by resemblances to passages in the *Vision concerning Cromwell*.

In March, 1644, the Earl of Manchester's com-

mission expelled from Cambridge University all who would not subscribe the Solemn League and Covenant. Absence was treated as tantamount to refusal, and Cowley, like many others, lost his Fellowship. The hospitality which Oxford offered to Cowley, as well as to his friend Crashaw and other exiles from Cambridge, brought little tranquillity. The city was the seat of the Court and the headquarters of the royal army, and already threatened by the enemy. Cowley, according to Wood's *Fasti*, 'was not wanting in his duty in the war itself.' It is at any rate certain that, whether Cowley was occupied in attacking the Roundheads with the pen or the sword, the few months he spent in Oxford were a turning-point in his career.

John Harvey, a brother of his Cambridge friend, is said to have recommended Cowley to an influential courtier, Lord Jermyn (afterwards Earl of St. Albans), who was secretary to Queen Henrietta Maria and commander of her body-guard. Cowley entered his service and was thus attached to the Court. The queen left Oxford in April, 1644, and soon after arrived in Paris. Cowley's movements for the next few years are uncertain, and it is not clear whether he accompanied the queen, or followed her to Paris in 1646. Indeed, Anthony à Wood says that he was introduced to Lord Jermyn in Paris by Dr. Stephen Goffe or Gough, a former chaplain of the king. Sprat writes that Cowley was employed on dangerous missions to Jersey, Scotland, Flanders, and Holland. In any case, from 1646 to 1655 he resided for the most part in Paris, where among his fellow exiles

were Edward Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, the philosopher Hobbes, John Evelyn, and the poets Waller, Davenant, and Denham. There too Cowley found his friend Crashaw in a destitute condition, and was able to relieve him through his influence with the queen. It is a remarkable testimony to Cowley's honour and discretion that he was employed to cipher and decipher the secret correspondence that passed between the king and queen. He also, in Sprat's words, 'managed a vast intelligence in many other parts, which for some years together took up all his days and two or three nights every week.' The Cavaliers in Paris were needy, and much occupied in mutual jealousies and recriminations. Cowley's employer, Lord Jermyn, was, if Clarendon is to be trusted, an unprincipled man who contrived to secure for himself much money that rightly belonged to the royal family, and lived in ostentation. Cowley was a faithful servant, but chafed under the sense that he had mistaken his calling. He had been drawn from literature into the busy life of courts and cities, of politics and intrigues, a life that he abhorred. In his Pindaric Ode, 'Destinie,' he represents the Muse as presiding at his birth :

Hate and renounce (said she)
Wealth, Honor, Pleasures, all the World for Me. . . .
Content thy self with the small Barren Praise,
That neglected Verse does raise.
She spake, and all my years to come
Took their unlucky Doom.

He felt sometimes that this devotion to poetry brought little reward. Thus in the Ode on Lord Broghill's

verses he tells how for a time he renounced a study which brought neither wealth, nor love, nor fame, and in a rage flung his poetical library out of the window. But the old conviction persisted. His volume of poems, whose destiny is to be chained to a shelf in the Bodleian, exclaims :

Ah, that my Author had been ty'd like me
To such a place, and such a Companie !
Instead of sev'ral Countries, sev'ral Men,
And business which the Muses hate,
He might have then improv'd that small Estate,
Which nature sparingly did to him give,
He might perhaps have thriven then.

And again, after the Restoration, in 'The Complaint', the Muse reproaches him severely for his apostasy :

Thou Changling, thou, bewicht with noise and show,
Wouldst into Courts and Cities from me go.

Cowley, nevertheless, found leisure for two poetical works, which, however mistaken we may consider them, brought him in his life-time more renown than anything else he wrote, *The Mistress* and the *Pin-darique Odes*. The latter are noticed elsewhere in this volume. *The Mistress*, printed in London in 1647, is a collection of love-poems, some of which may have been written earlier, though for the most part they seem to have been intended to please the young Cavaliers of the queen's court. It is said that the only woman whom Cowley ever really loved was the Heleonora of 'The Chronicle', who married a brother of his biographer Sprat. Joshua Barnes, the editor

of Anacreon, who relates this, adds that Cowley never ventured to declare his love to her. It is not improbable, however, that he alludes to this affair in his Ode on the verses of Lord Broghill, where he says that when the Muse taught him to write of love :

I wrote, and wrote, but still I wrote in vain,
For after all my expense of Wit and Pain,
A rich, unwriting Hand carry'd the Prize away.

Cowley, who had often written disparagingly of love, discusses *The Mistress* in the preface of 1656 (p. 10) in a curiously apologetic way, and virtually admits that the writing of these poems was a perfunctory concession to the taste of critics. Their frigid, elaborate quality shows that he strove to simulate passion by sheer force of intellect. By temper he belonged to the coming age, which in poetry prized wit and rhetoric above emotion ; hence he fell under the influence of his fellow exile Waller, the pioneer of the new school, and of the French poets of his day. Yet he followed the expiring literary convention that demanded an erotic cycle from the poet. Conceits that with Donne and his school had expressed, fantastically enough, but imaginatively, the subtler shades of feeling, became in Cowley's hands lifeless prodigies of perverted ingenuity.

Hitherto Cowley had been chiefly known as a fashionable poet. Politics were now to drag him into some notoriety and danger. He had already written a history of the Civil War, which he never carried beyond the first battle of Newbury, and left

unpublished, from a desire to bury old quarrels in oblivion. Early in 1655 Royalist hopes rose high, culminating in the abortive risings in Yorkshire and at Salisbury in March. A month later, on April 13, among some Royalists apprehended in London, 'for having had a hand in the plot,' as we learn from *The Weekly Intelligencer* and other journals, was 'the memorable M. Abraham Cowley, more famous by his pen than by his sword'. Sprat is followed by most writers in post-dating this arrest by a year, and affirms that Cowley was seized in mistake for another man. He was, however, kept a prisoner until Dr. Scarburgh, one of the most eminent physicians of the day, to whom Cowley, before or after, addressed a Pindaric ode, became his surety for £1,000. While in prison he prepared an edition of such works as he deemed worthy of publication, including *The Mistress*, the *Pindaric Odes*, the *Davideis*, some graceful and well-turned Anacreontics, various elegies, and other occasional poems. The publication of this volume established Cowley's reputation as the first poet of the day. Some doubt has been expressed as to the sincerity of the preface, which seems to affect a compliant Puritanical tone. Cowley's position was no doubt equivocal, and it was necessary to allay suspicions. But there is little in the preface inconsistent with what is otherwise known of Cowley's character, which indeed had in some ways more affinity with the Puritan than the Cavalier. Apart from a few purely conventional Bacchanalian and amorous effusions, his writings are as staid and sober as his life. They abound in biblical

allusions, and studiously avoid profanity and looseness. Writing after the overthrow of the Puritan ascendancy, he alludes slightly to the art of dancing and to the pagan mythology, and boasts that he has 'endeavoured to root out the ordinary weeds of Poetry and to plant it almost wholly with Divinity (pp. 146 f., 167, 104).

The passage in this preface which was afterwards suppressed certainly implies that Cowley now regarded Royalism as a lost cause, and was ready to acquiesce in the new order. And yet Sprat, who must have known the facts, represents him as working secretly all the while in the king's interests. The design which Cowley had long harboured of seeking peace in the American plantations was abandoned in favour of the plan of pursuing a study which would at least give him an ostensible occupation, and perhaps, as Sprat hints, divert attention from his political activities. He therefore studied medicine, and in December, 1657, received the degree of Doctor of Physic from the University of Oxford, through the influence of some men in power, a fact that was afterwards remembered against him. It is less creditable, perhaps, to Cowley that he was best man to the notorious Duke of Buckingham at his wedding with Fairfax's daughter in 1657, and that he composed a eulogy for the occasion.

Cowley never practised medicine, and the chief result of his studies was a treatise on plants, literary rather than scientific, in six books of Latin verse.

On the death of Cromwell, he returned to France, and remained there until the eve of the Restoration.

He planned a quasi-apocalyptic discourse on the sins of the three nations and the judgements that were to befall them, but finding his gloomy predictions falsified by the Restoration he published only the first part, *A Vision concerning his late pretended Highness Cromwell the Wicked*. In this vigorous but violent partisan pamphlet, his blind Royalist devotion, aided by his habit of reckless exaggeration, makes him grossly unjust to the Great Protector and his party. Cowley hastened to welcome the royal family in a long ode full of outrageous and ridiculous flattery. The Restoration naturally brought the prospect of some reward for his long and arduous services to the Crown. Charles I and Charles II had both promised him the Mastership of the Savoy Hospital. Cowley was bitterly disappointed when Charles II with characteristic ingratitude gave it to a brother of one of his mistresses. Cowley's doubtful behaviour during his residence in England under the Commonwealth was laid to his charge, his ode to Brutus was interpreted as an expression of disloyalty, and even his comedy, *Cutter of Coleman Street*, the remodelled *Guardian*, which was successfully acted in 1661, and won the praise of Pepys, was perversely supposed to contain a satire on the Cavalier party. In 'The Complaint', a very singular poetical confession which throws much light on his unhappy and regretful frame of mind, the 'melancholy Cowley', as he calls himself, is taunted by the Muse for his neglect of her, through which, alone of the king's loyal company he is now left empty-handed. He retorts that it is because he has never been able to free himself from

the Muse's spell, that he is ruined. 'Thou slack'nest all my Nerves of Industry.'

This was my Errour, 'This my gross mistake,
Myself a demy-votary to make.

However :

Kings have long hands (they say) and though I be
So distant, they may reach at length to me.

Cowley, whose fellowship had been restored to him at the Restoration, published in 1661 *A Proposition for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy*, which he had written some two years before. His interest in the natural sciences had doubtless been stimulated by Scarburgh, Evelyn, and Hobbes. To the last, whom he had probably known in Paris, he had addressed an enthusiastic but not very discriminating ode. Cowley was alive to the significance of the new experimental methods which were being prosecuted by small groups of inquirers in London and Oxford, and his suggestions in the *Proposition* display an enlightened conception of the importance of the direct study of nature and of technical as well as general education. In his essay 'Of Agriculture' he shows himself equally in advance of his age in proposing agricultural colleges. In the incorporation of the Royal Society in 1662, Cowley saw a partial realization of the aims of his *Proposition*. He became one of the original members, and five years later wrote a dignified 'Ode to the Royal Society', in which after aptly describing the pioneer work of Bacon in delivering knowledge from the tyranny of authority and of *a priori* reasoning, and in discovering

vast realms of nature, he calls upon the chosen band to conquer the lands to which their great Moses had led them. In a similar vein is the 'Ode upon Dr. Harvey', the great physiologist, which Cowley included in a small volume of *Verses upon several Occasions* published in 1663.

Through the interest of his patrons the Earl of St. Albans (Lord Jermyn) and the Duke of Buckingham, Cowley obtained a favourable lease of some of the queen's lands, and was thus able to spend his last years in comfort. He lived first at Barn Elms near Putney, and removed in 1665 to a more sequestered retreat at Chertsey, where the Porch House, which still stands, was his residence. He devoted his time to the study of botany, to the writing of verses, including his fine 'Hymn to Light', and above all to the composition of the eleven Essays on which his present fame chiefly rests. He also began two treatises which he did not live to complete, and of which nothing has been preserved, a work on style, and an examination of the original principles of the Church, in view of the divisions of Christendom.

In 1667 Cowley contracted a chill while superintending his farm labourers in the meadows on a late summer evening, and died on July 28, in the forty-ninth year of his age. He was buried with much ceremony in Westminster Abbey near Chaucer and Spenser, and some years later his monument was erected by the Duke of Buckingham.

In 1668 his friend Thomas Sprat, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, published a sumptuous edition of his chief works, English and Latin, including the

Essays, which he had left in manuscript. Sprat prefixed a *Life*, which, with Anthony à Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses* and Cowley's own writings, is the chief source of Dr. Johnson's sketch in his *Lives of the English Poets*, and of subsequent biographical accounts.

Charles II, on hearing of his death, is reported to have said, 'Mr. Cowley has not left behind him a better man in England.' His essays, and to a lesser degree his poems, reveal a lovable though not a strong character. His chief fault was a diffidence which led him to distrust and misjudge originality and enterprise; a defect which kept him too often from following his natural bent, and at times was not far removed from pusillanimity, as in some passages in the essays (e.g. p. 144). It contrasts almost ludicrously with his claim in 'The Motto' to be 'the Muses' Hannibal', and with his belief, expressed in the *Davideis*, that he was the Apostle called to convert the Muses' land to God.

His delicacy of feeling and unfeigned enthusiasm for the nobler and purer joys of life, for great literature, friendship, science, and nature, rendered him singularly unfitted for a profligate and cynical court. Kings in exile are notoriously surrounded by crowds of jealous, intriguing sycophants. This irksome environment has left its stamp on the essays. Thwarted for many years in his longing to escape, Cowley harboured an increasing loathing for a world which he found filled with base ambitions and intrigues. But though he grew melancholy, he still cherished his early ideals, and reserved what bitterness

was in him for the enemies of his king and his Church.

It was as a poet and not as a prose-writer that Cowley won fame in his own day. Milton is said to have placed him with Shakespeare and Spenser as the third great English poet. Dryden wrote in 1672 in his 'Essay on Heroic Plays', 'his authority is almost sacred to me', and in his 'Essay on Satire' (1693) he calls him the darling of his youth. To Addison in 1694 ('Epistle to Sacheverell') 'his only fault is wit in its excess'. Cowley's contemporary popularity as a poet, which we now find so hard to understand, is before all things due to the fact that he was a pioneer of the new poetic taste. To the new school the higher imagination, the deeper emotions, and truth to nature, all of which were showing signs of exhaustion, were less admirable than oratorical brilliancy and intellectual ingenuity; in short, all that the age meant by 'wit'. When Cowley's poetry is charged with true emotion, as in the great elegy on Crashaw, or when he gives his fancy play and forgets his learning, as in the charming Anacreontic on a grasshopper, it can still be read with genuine delight, but often the modern reader finds his verse lacking in music, too forced and strained, too ready to mask its lack of spontaneous feeling by a parade of violent exaggerated rhetoric and pedantic learning.

As Cowley's poetry was transitional, and the qualities that were new in it were brought nearer perfection by Dryden and others, its popularity rapidly waned. In 1700 Dryden writes in the preface to his *Fables* that whereas there had been ten editions of

the poems in ten years, now hardly a hundred copies were sold in a year. Pope's lines in his 'Epistle to Augustus' (1737) are well known :

Who now reads Cowley ? if he pleases yet,
His moral pleases, not his pointed wit ;
Forgot his epic, nay, Pindaric art,
But still I love the language of his heart.

It is in Cowley's prose, rather than in his poetry, that we can read and 'love the language of his heart'. Here especially we recognize, in Sprat's words, 'the same unaffected modesty, and natural freedom, and easie vigour, and chearful passions, and innocent mirth, which appear'd in all his Manners'. Cowley's prose is superior to his poetry, chiefly because it breaks away from tradition, and is free from pose. Here he dares to be natural. When he retired to Barn Elms and Chertsey, he cast off the restless literary ambition that had so long allured him and vitiated his taste. He could now indulge his own natural bent without further aim, unless it was to guide others away from the tumult of worldly ambitions to the calm of the meditative life.

Cowley's prose therefore shows few traces of the characteristic vices of his verse—little of the straining after effect, the contorted wit, the insincerity and violence which mar the *Davideis*, *The Mistress*, and the *Pindarique Odes*. The poems themselves which are liberally interspersed among the essays share for the most part their ripeness and calm dignity. The faults of the *Essays* are obvious—their narrow range and repetitions, their one-sidedness, their constant

tendency to exaggeration, faults characteristic of all the author's work. The style occasionally betrays the disorderly profusion and confusion so general in earlier English writers, but as a rule it is almost as lucid, logical, direct, and modern as that of Dryden or Temple. It owes its virtues mainly to its freedom from affectation, partly also to the influence of French models with which Cowley, like the other Royalist exiles, had become familiar in Paris, and partly, as Minto suggests, to the effect of many years' practice in the writing of official reports and diplomatic correspondence.

The inspiration of the *Essays* is drawn from books, and not from Nature. Cowley loves the country ardently, but with the vague admiration of the townsman. It is his revelation of himself that charms, a character, in Mr. Gosse's words, of 'proud humility', of 'grace and sweet enthusiasm', in an age of coarse and tasteless materialism.

EDITIONS.

The first part of *The Works of Abraham Cowley*, edited by Thomas Sprat in 1668, contains the Life, most of the poems, and all the prose pieces in the present volume except the preface to *Cutter of Coleman Street*, which was added in 1693. It reached a sixth edition in 1680, and a twelfth in 1721. Archdeacon Richard Hurd, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, edited in 1772 Cowley's *Select Works*, in two volumes, with a preface, and brief but apt notes, in which many of the references are identified. It is significant of the change of taste, that nearly all Cowley's prose

is included in this edition, but only a small selection from his poems.

Of modern editions may be mentioned that by the Rev. A. B. Grosart, privately printed in 'The Chertsey Worthies Library', *The Complete Works . . . of Abraham Cowley, now for the first time collected : edited with memorial-introduction and notes and illustrations, portraits, facsimiles . . .* in two volumes, 1881. The voluminous introduction, which contains lengthy extracts from other writers, is written in a spirit of uncritical enthusiasm. The notes do not add very much of value.

Henry Morley's edition of the *Essays* in Cassell's National Library, 1886, contains a short biographical sketch, and some very scanty notes.

The first edition of the prose works at all fully annotated was that prepared for the Pitt Press Series in 1887 by the late Rev. J. R. Lumby, D.D., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. It contains all the pieces in the present volume except the two prefaces of 1656. The text appears to follow one of the later editions of Sprat's text, perhaps that of 1684. The biographical introduction, though dryly written, contains numerous facts collected for the first time, and the notes are useful, and as a rule accurate.

In 1904 a dainty edition of the *Essays*, &c., by H. C. Minchin, was published in 'The Little Library' with a good portrait after Lely, an introduction, and a few notes. The text is very unnecessarily expurgated.

The standard text is that edited by A. R. Waller,

The English Writings of Abraham Cowley, in the Cambridge English Classics. Only the letters are omitted. The first volume, published in 1905, contains most of the poems, and the two prefaces of 1656; the second, which appeared in 1906, contains the Essays, Plays, Juvenilia, and some other poems. In this the text of the prose follows the earliest editions, except in the two prefaces of 1656, where the variants of the first edition are registered, and *A Vision concerning Cromwell*, where they are not. All emendations are carefully noted. A volume of notes, biographical, bibliographical, and critical, is promised.

Among critical studies of Cowley's life and work, the first to be mentioned is the *Life* by Dr. Johnson, to which is appended the famous disquisition on the metaphysical school of poets. It is one of the shrewdest and ablest of his *Lives of the Poets*, though marred by a lack of sympathy natural to one for whom rural seclusion had no charms.

The best modern accounts are the articles by the late Sir Leslie Stephen in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and by Mr. Edmund Gosse in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, eleventh edition, and a sympathetic and illuminating chapter by the latter critic in his *Seventeenth Century Studies*, 1883; also the contributions to *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, on Cowley's life and poetry by A. Hamilton Thompson, in vol. VII (1911), iii, pp. 61-70, and on his prose writings by A. A. Tilley in vol. VIII (1912), xvi, pp. 376 ff. The whole chapter by the last-named on 'The Essay' should be studied for a clear account of the influences under which this species of prose

developed in the Restoration period. The student may also profitably consult Prof. W. J. Courthope's *History of English Poetry*, vol. III, 1903, pp. 334-55, especially 349 ff.

An essay by W. Stebbing in *Some Verdicts of History Reviewed*, 1887, is suggestive, though not always a safe guide. The chapter on Cowley in A. W. Fox, *A Book of Bachelors*, 1899, exhibits his character in a just and attractive light, but is unduly favourable to his poetic talents.

NOTE ON THE TEXT.

The present edition includes all the known prose writings of Cowley, except the Preface to the juvenile volume *Poeticall Blossoms*, and some letters of no very great interest.¹ As the *Essays* were published posthumously, and no second editions of the other prose writings appeared in their author's life-time, the first edition has been followed in every case. Corrections of the text, when not already made in the *errata* printed in the first editions, are in every case indicated in foot-notes, except that where letters or stops have been inserted, the addition has been indicated only by conical brackets in the text, and does not appear in the foot-notes. In these the initial *W.* shows that the correction has already

¹ Some political letters to Henry Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, are printed by T. Brown in *Miscellanea Aulica*. It is to be regretted that Sprat, while admitting the charm of Cowley's letters to his private friends, did not think fit to preserve them. That in Johnson's *Life*, one of the few that survive, bears out Sprat's testimony.

been made (not always for the first time) in Mr. A. R. Waller's edition of Cowley in *The Cambridge English Classics*. In the two prefaces of 1656 and the *Vision concerning Cromwell*, he follows a different text from mine.

COWLEY'S ESSAYS
AND
OTHER PROSE WRITINGS

THE PREFACE TO THE POEMS

1656

AT my return lately into *England*, I met by great accident (for such I account it to be, that any Copy of it should be extant any where so long, unless at his house who printed it) a *Book* entituled, *The Iron Age*, and published under *my name*, during the time of my absence. I wondred very much how one who could be so *foolish* to write so ill Verses, should yet be so
10 *Wise* to set them forth as another *Mans* rather than his *own* ; though perhaps he might have made a better choice, and not fathered the *Bastard* upon such a person, whose stock of Reputation is, I fear, little enough for maintenance of his own numerous *Legitimate Off-spring* of that kinde. It would have been much less injurious, if it had pleased the *Author* to put forth some of my Writings under his *own name*, rather than his own under *mine* : He had been in that a more pardonable Plagiary, and had done less
20 wrong by *Robbery*, then he does by such a *Bounty* ; for no body can be *justified* by the *Imputation* even of anothers *Merit* ; and our own course *Cloathes* are like to become us better, then those of another mans, though never so *rich* : but these, to say the truth, were so *beggarly*, that I my self was ashamed to *wear* them. It was in vain for me, that I avoided censure by the concealment of my own writings, if my reputa-

tion could be thus *Executed in Effigie*; and impossible it is for any good *Name* to be in safety, if the malice of *Witches* have the power to consume and destroy it in an *Image* of their own making. This indeed was so ill made, and so *unlike*, that I hope the *Charm* took no effect. So that I esteem my self less prejudiced by it, then by that which has been done to me since, almost in the same kinde, which is, the publication of some things of mine without my consent or knowledge, and those so mangled and imperfect, that I could 10 neither with honor acknowledge, nor with honesty quite disavow them. Of which sort, was a *Comedy* called *The Guardian*, printed in the year, 1650. but made and acted before the *Prince*, in his passage through *Cambridge* towards *York*, at the beginning of the late unhappy War; or rather neither *made* nor *acted*, but *rough-drawn* onely, and *repeated*; for the haste was so great, that it could neither be *revised* or *perfected* by the *Author*, nor *learnt without-Book* by the *Actors*, nor set forth in any measure tolerably by 20 the *Officers* of the *College*. After the *Representation* (which, I confess, was somewhat of the *latest*) I began to look it over, and changed it very much, striking out some whole parts, as that of the *Poet* and the *Souldier*; but I have lost the *Copy*, and dare not think it deserves the pains to write it again, which makes me omit it in this publication, though there be some things in it which I am not ashamed of, taking in the excuse of my age and small experience in humane conversation when I made it. But as it is, 30 it is onely the hasty *first-sitting* of a *Picture*, and there-

fore like to resemble me accordingly. From this which had hapned to my self, I began to reflect upon the fortune of almost all *Writers*, and especially *Poets*, whose *Works* (commonly printed after their deaths) we finde stuffed out, either with *counterfeit pieces*, like *false Money* put in to fill up the *Bag*, though it adde nothing to the *sum* ; or with such, which though of their own *Coyne*, they would have called in themselves, for the baseness of the *Allay*: whether this proceed
 10 from the indiscretion of their *Friends*, who think a vast *heap* of Stones or Rubbish a better *Monument*, then a little *Tomb* of *Marble*, or by the unworthy avarice of some *Stationers*, who are content to diminish the value of the *Author*, so they may encrease the price of the *Book* ; and like *Vintners* with sophisticate mixtures, spoil the whole vessel of wine, to make it yield more *profit*. This has been the case with *Shakespear*, *Fletcher*, *Johnson*, and many others ; part of whose *Poems* I should take the boldness to
 10 prune and lop away, if the care of replanting them in print did belong to me ; neither would I make any scruple to cut off from some the unnecessary yong *Suckars*, and from others the old withered *Branches* ; for a *great Wit* is no more tyed to live in a *Vast Volume*, then in a *Gigantique Body* ; on the contrary, it is commonly more vigorous, the less space it animates. And as *Statius* says of little *Tydeus*,

..... *Totos infusa per artus*

Major in exiguo regnabat corpore virtus.

Stat. 1 l.
Theb.

30 I am not ignorant, that by saying this of others, I expose my self to some Raillery, for not using the same

severe discretion in my own case, where it concerns me nearer : But though I publish here, more then in strict wisdom I ought to have done, yet I have suppressed and cast away more then I *publish* ; and for the ease of my self and others, have *lost*, I believe too, more then *both*. And upon these considerations I have been perswaded to overcome all the just repugnances of my own *modesty*, and to produce these *Poems* to the light and view of the World ; not as a thing that I approved of in it self, but as a lesser evil, 10 which I chose rather then to stay till it were done for me by some body else, either surreptitiously before, or avowedly after my death ; and this will be the more excusable, when the *Reader* shall know in what respects he may look upon me as a *Dead*, or at least a *Dying Person*, and upon my *Muse* in this action, as appearing, like the *Emperor Charls the Fifth*, and assisting at her own *Funeral*.

For to make my self absolutely dead in a *Poetical* capacity, my resolution at present, is never to exercise 20 any more that faculty. It is, I confess, but seldom seen that the *Poet* dyes before the *Man* ; for when we once fall in love with that bewitching *Art*, we do not use to court it as a *Mistress*, but marry it as a *Wife*, and take it for better or worse, as an *Inseparable Companion* of our whole life. But as the *Mariages* of *Infants* do but rarely prosper, so no man ought to wonder at the diminution or decay of my affection to *Poesie* ; to which I had contracted my self so much under *Age*, and so much to my own prejudice in 30 regard of those more profitable matches which I might have made among the *richer Sciences*. As for the

Portion which this brings of *Fame*, it is an *Estate* (if it be any, for men are not oftner deceived in their hopes of *Widows*, then in their opinion of, *Exegi monumentum ære perennius*) that hardly ever comes in whilst we are *Living* to enjoy it, but is a *fantastical kind of Reversion to our own selves*: neither ought any man to envy *Poets* this posthumous and imaginary happiness, since they finde commonly so little in present, that it may be truly applyed to them, which
 10 S. *Paul* speaks of the first *Christians*, *If their reward be in this life, they are of all men the most miserable.*

And if in quiet and flourishing times they meet with so small encouragement, what are they to expect in rough and troubled ones? if *wit* be such a *Plant*, that it scarce receives heat enough to preserve it alive even in the *Summer* of our cold *Clymate*, how can it choose but wither in a long and a sharp *winter*? a warlike, various, and a tragical age is best to *write of*, but worst to *write in*. And I may, though in a very
 20 unequal proportion, assume that to my self, which was spoken by *Tully* to a much better person, upon occasion of the *Civil Wars* and *Revolutions* in his time, *Sed in te intuens, Brute, doleo, cujus in adolescentiam per medias laudes quasi quadrigis vehementem transversa incurrit misera fortuna Rei- Cic. de Clar. publicæ. Orator.*

Neither is the present constitution of my *Mind* more proper then that of the *Times* for this exercise, or rather divertisement. There is nothing that
 30 requires so much serenity and chearfulness of *Spirit*; it must not be either overwhelmed with the cares of *Life*, or overcast with the *Clouds* of *Melancholy* and

Sorrow, or shaken and disturbed with the storms of injurious *Fortune*; it must like the *Halcyon*, have *fair weather* to breed in. The *Soul* must be filled with bright and delightful *Idæa's*, when it undertakes to communicate delight to others; which is the main end of *Poesie*. One may see through the stile of *Ovid de Trist.* the humbled and dejected condition of *Spirit* with which he wrote it; there scarce remains any footsteps of that *Genius*,

Quem nec Jovis ira, nec ignes, &c.

10

The *cold* of the Countrey had stricken through all his faculties, and benumbed the very *feet* of his *Verses*. He is himself, methinks, like one of the *Stories* of his own *Metamorphoses*; and though there remain some weak *resemblances* of *Ovid* at *Rome*, It is but as he says of *Niobe*,

*In vultu color est sine sanguine, lumina mæstis
Stant immota genis; nihil est in Imagine vivum,
Flet tamen*

*Ovid.
Metam. l. 6.*

The truth is, for a man to write well, it is necessary 20 to be in good humor; neither is *Wit* less eclipsed with the unquietness of *Mind*, then *Beauty* with the *Indisposition* of *Body*. So that 'tis almost as hard a thing to be a *Poet* in despite of *Fortune*, as it is in despite of *Nature*. For my own part, neither my obligations to the *Muses*, nor expectations from them are so great, as that I should suffer my self upon no considerations to be *divorced*; or that I should say like *Horace*,

Quisquis erit vitæ, Scribam, color.

*Hor. Sat. 1.
l. 2. Ser. 30*

I shall rather use his words in another place,

Vixi Camænis nuper idoneus,

Et militavi non sine gloriâ,

Nunc arma defunctumq; bello

Barbiton hic paries habebit.

L. 3. Car. Ode 26.

Vixi puellis, &c.

And this resolution of mine does the more befit me, because my desire has been for some years past (though the execution has been accidentally diverted) and does stil vehemently continue, to retire my self
10 to some of our *American Plantations*, not to seek for *Gold*, or inrich my self with the traffique of those parts (which is the end of most men that travel thither ; so that of *these Indies* it is truer then it was of the former,

Improbos extremos currit Mercator ad Indos

Pauperiem fugiens . . .)

But to forsake this world for ever, with all the *vanities* and *Vexations* of it, and to bury my self in some obscure retreat there (but not without the consolation of *Letters* and *Philosophy*)

20 *Oblitusq; meorum, obliviscendus & illis.*

As my former *Author* speaks too, who has inticed me here, I know not how, into the *Pedantry* of this heap of *Latine Sentences*. And I think *Doctor Donnes Sun Dyal in a grave* is not more useless and ridiculous then *Poetry* would be in that *retirement*. As this therefore is in a true sense a kind of *Death* to the *Muses*, and a real *literal quitting* of this *World*: So, methinks, I may make a just claim to the undoubted priviledge of *Deceased Poets*, which is to be read with
30 more *favor*, then the *Living* ;

Tanti est ut placeam tibi, Perire.

Mart.

Having been forced for my own necessary justification to trouble the *Reader* with this long Discourse of the *Reasons* why I trouble him also with all the rest of the *Book*, I shall onely add somewhat concerning the several parts of it, and some other pieces, which I have thought fit to reject in this publication: As first, all those which I wrote at *School* from the age of ten years, till after fifteen; for even so far backward there remain yet some *traces* of me in the little *footsteps* of a *childe*; which though they were then ¹⁰ looked upon as *commendable extrava(ga)nces* in a *Boy* (men setting a value upon *any kind* of *fruit* before the usual *season* of it) yet I would be loth to be bound now to read them all over *my self*; and therefore should do ill to expect that patience from *others*. Besides, they have already past through several *Editions*, which is a longer *Life* then uses to be enjoyed by *Infants* that are born before the ordinary *terms*. They had the good fortune then to find the world so *indulgent* (for considering the time of their ²⁰ production, who could be so hard-hearted to be *severe*?) that I scarce yet apprehend so much to be censured for *them*, as for not having made *advances* afterwards proportionable to the speed of my *setting out*, and am obliged too in a maner by Discretion to conceal and suppress them, as *Promises* and *Instruments* under my own hand, whereby I stood *engaged* for more then I have been able to *perform*; in which truly, if I have failed, I have the real excuse of the *honestest* sort of *Bankrupts*, which is, to have been ³⁰ made *Unsolvable*, not so much by their own *negligence* and *ill-husbandry*, as by some notorious accidents, and

publike disasters. In the next place, I have cast away all such pieces as I wrote during the time of the late troubles, with any relation to the differences that caused them; as among others, *three Books of the Civil War it self*, reaching as far as the first *Battel of Newbury*, where the succeeding *misfortunes* of the party stopt the work; for it is so uncustomary, as to become almost *ridiculous*, to make *Lawrels* for the *Conquered*. Now though in all *Civil Dissentions*,
10 when they break into open hostilities, the *War* of the *Pen* is allowed to accompany that of the *Sword*, and every one is in a maner obliged with his *Tongue*, as well as *Hand*, to serve and assist the side which he engages in; yet when the event of battel, and the unaccountable *Will* of *God* has determined the controversie, and that we have submitted to the conditions of the *Conqueror*, we must lay down our *Pens* as well as *Arms*, we must *march* out of our *Cause* it self, and *dismantle* that, as well as our
20 *Towns* and *Castles*, of all the *Works* and *Fortifications* of *Wit* and *Reason* by which we defended it. *We* ought not sure, to begin our selves to revive the remembrance of those times and actions for which we have received a *General Amnestie*, as a *favor* from the *Victor*. The truth is, neither *We*, nor *They*, ought by the *Representation* of *Places* and *Images* to make a kind of *Artificial Memory* of those things wherein we are all bound to desire like *Themistocles*, the *Art* of *Oblivion*. The *enmities* of
30 *Fellow-Citizens* should be, like that of *Lovers*, the *Redintegration* of their *Amity*. The Names of *Party*, and *Titles* of *Division*, which are sometimes in effect

the whole quarrel, should be extinguished and forbidden in peace under the notion of *Acts of Hostility*. And I would have it accounted no less unlawful to *rip up old wounds*, then to *give new ones*; which has made me not onely abstain from printing any things of this kinde, but to burn the very copies, and inflict a severer punishment on them my self, then perhaps the most rigid Officer of *State* would have thought that they deserved.

As for the ensuing Book, it consists of four parts : 10
The first is a *Miscellanie* of several Subjects, and some of them made when I was very young, which it is perhaps *superfluous* to tell the *Reader*; I know not by what chance I have kept *Copies* of them; for they are but a very few in comparison of those which I have lost, and I think they have no extraordinary virtue in them, to deserve more care in preservation, then was bestowed upon their *Brethren*; for which I am so little concerned, that I am ashamed of the *arrogancy* of the word, when I said, *I had lost them*. 20

The *Second*, is called, *The Mistress*, or *Love-Verses*; for so it is, that *Poets* are scarce thought *Free-men* of their *Company*, without paying some duties, and obliging themselves to be true to *Love*. Sooner or later they must all pass through that *Tryal*, like some *Mahumetan Monks*, that are bound by their Order, once at least, in their life, to make a *Pilgrimage* to *Meca*,

In furias ignemq; ruunt ; Amor omnibus idem.

But we must not always make a judgement of their 30
manners from their *writings* of this kind; as the

Romanists uncharitably do of *Beza*, for a few lascivious *Sonnets* composed by him in his youth. It is not in this sense that *Poesie* is said to be a kind of *Painting*; it is not the *Picture* of the *Poet*, but of *things* and *persons* imagined by him. He may be in his own practice and disposition a *Philosopher*, nay a *Stoick*, and yet speak sometimes with the softness of an amorous *Sappho*.

Feret & rubus asper Anonnum.

- 10 He professes too much the use of *Fables* (though without the malice of deceiving) to have his testimony taken even against himself. Neither would I here be misunderstood, as if I affected so much gravity, as to be ashamed to be thought really in *Love*. On the contrary, I cannot have a good opinion of any man who is not at least capable of being so. But I speak it to excuse some expressions (if such there be) which may happen to offend the severity of supercilious *Readers*; for much *Excess* is to be allowed in *Love*,
 20 and even more in *Poetry*; so we avoid the two unpardonable vices in both, which are *Obscenity* and *Prophaneness*, of which I am sure, if my *words* be ever guilty, they have ill-represented my *thoughts* and *intentions*. And if, notwithstanding all this, the lightness of the matter here displease any body; he may finde wherewithal to content his more serious inclinations in the weight, and height of the ensuing *Arguments*.

For as for the *Pindarick Odes* (which is the third
 30 part) I am in great doubt whether they wil be understood by most *Readers*; nay, even by very many who

are well enough acquainted with the common Roads, and ordinary Tracks of *Poesie*. They either are, or at least were meant to be, of that kinde of *Stile* which *Dion. Halicarnasseus* calls, Μεγαλοφυῆς καὶ ἡδὺ μετὰ δεινότητος, and which he attributes to *Alcæus*: The digressions are many, and sudden, and sometimes long, according to the fashion of all *Lyriques*, and of *Pindar* above all men living. The *Figures* are unusual and *bold*, even to *Temeritie*, and such as I durst not have to do withal in any other kinde of *Poetry*: The *Numbers* are various and irregular, and sometimes (especially some of the long ones) seem harsh and uncouth, if the just measures and cadencies be not observed in the *Pronunciation*. So that almost all their *Sweetness* and *Numerosity* (which is to be found, if I mistake not, in the roughest, if rightly repeated) lies in a maner wholly at the *Mercy* of the *Reader*. I have briefly described the nature of these Verses, in the *Ode* entituled, *The Resurrection*: And though the *Liberty* of them may incline a man to believe them easie to be composed, yet the undertaker will finde it otherwise.

.. Vt sibi quivis
 Speret idem, multum sudet frustra;q; labore;
 Ausus idem. . . .

I come now to the last Part, which is, *Davideis*, or an *Heroical Poem*, of the *Troubles of David*; which I designed into *Twelve Books*; not for the *Tribes* sake, but after the *Patern* of our Master *Virgil*; and intended to close all with that most Poetical and excellent *Elegie* of *Davids* upon the death of *Saul*

and *Jonathan*: For I had no mind to carry him quite on to his *Anointing* at *Hebron*, because it is the custom of *Heroick Poets* (as we see by the examples of *Homer* and *Virgil*, whom we should do ill to forsake to imitate others) never to come to the full end of their *Story*; but onely so near, that every one may see it; as men commonly play not out the game, when it is evident that they can win it, but lay down their *Cards*, and take up what they have won.

- ¹⁰ This, I say, was the *whole Designe*, in which there are many noble and fertile Arguments behinde; as, The barbarous cruelty of *Saul* to the *Priests* at *Nob*, the several flights and escapes of *David*, with the maner of his living in the *Wilderness*, the *Funeral* of *Samuel*, the love of *Abigail*, the sacking of *Ziglag*, the loss and recovery of *Davids* wives from the *Amalekites*, the *Witch* of *Endor*, the war with the *Philistims*, and the *Battel* of *Gilboa*; all which I meant to interweave upon several occasions, with
- ²⁰ most of the illustrious *Stories* of the *Old Testament*, and to embellish with the most remarkable *Antiquities* of the *Jews*, and of other Nations before or at that *Age*. But I have had neither *Leisure* hitherto, nor have *Appetite* at present to finish the work, or so much as to revise that part which is done with that care which I resolved to bestow upon it, and which the *Dignity* of the *Matter* well deserves. For what worthier *subject* could have been chosen among all the *Treasuries* of past times, then the *Life* of this
- ³⁰ young *Prince*; who from so small beginnings, through such infinite troubles and oppositions, by such miraculous virtues and excellencies, and with such incom-

parable variety of wonderful actions and accidents, became the greatest *Monarch* that ever sat upon the most *famous* Throne of the whole Earth? whom should a *Poet* more justly seek to *honor*, then the highest person who ever *honored* his Profession? whom a *Christian Poet*, rather than *the man after Gods own heart*, and the man who had that sacred pre-eminence above all other *Princes*, to be the best and mightiest of that Royal Race from whence *Christ* himself, according to the flesh, dis- 10 dained not to descend? When I consider this, and how many other bright and magnificent subjects of the like nature, the *Holy Scripture* affords, and *proffers*, as it were, to *Poesie*, in the wise managing and illustrating whereof, the *Glory of God Almighty* might be joyned with the singular utility and noblest delight of *Mankinde*: It is not without grief and indignation that I behold that *Divine Science* employing all her inexhaustable riches of *Wit* and *Eloquence*, either in the wicked and beggarly *Flattery* of great persons, 20 or the unmanly *Idolizing* of *Foolish Women*, or the wretched affectation of scurril *Laughter*, or at best on the confused antiquated *Dreams* of senseless *Fables* and *Metamorphoses*. Amongst all holy and consecrated things which the *Devil* ever stole and alienated from the service of the *Deity*; as *Altars*, *Temples*, *Sacrifices*, *Prayers*, and the like; there is none that he so universally, and so long usurpt, as *Poetry*. It is time to recover it out of the *Tyrants* hands, and to restore it to the *Kingdom of God*, who is the 30 *Father* of it. It is time to *Baptize* it in *Jordan*, for it will never become clean by bathing in the *Waters*

of *Damascus*. There wants, methinks, but the *Conversion* of *That*, and the *Jews*, for the accomplishing of the *Kingdom of Christ*. And as men before their receiving of the *Faith*, do not without some carnal reluctancies, apprehend the *bonds* and *fetters* of it, but finde it afterwards to be the truest and greatest *Liberty*: It will fare no otherwise with this *Art*, after the *Regeneration* of it; it will meet with wonderful variety of new, more beautiful, and more delightful
10 *Objects*; neither will it want *Room*, by being *confined to Heaven*. There is not so great a *Lye* to be found in any *Poet*, as the vulgar conceit of men, that *Lying* is *Essential* to good *Poetry*. Were there never so wholesome *Nourishment* to be had (but, alas, it breeds nothing but *Diseases*) out of these boasted *Feasts* of *Love* and *Fables*; yet, methinks, the unalterable continuance of the *Diet* should make us *Nauseate* it: For it is almost impossible to serve up any *new Dish* of that kinde. They are all but the *Cold-meats* of the
10 *Antients*, new-heated, and new set forth. I do not at all wonder that the old *Poets* made some rich crops out of these grounds; the heart of the *Soil* was not then wrought out with continual *Tillage*: But what can we expect now, who come a *Gleaning*, not after the first *Reapers*, but after the very *Beggars*? Besides, though those mad stories of the *Gods* and *Heroes*, seem in themselves so ridiculous; yet they were then the *whole Body* (or rather *Chaos*) of the *Theologie* of those times. They were believed by all
30 but a few *Philosophers*, and perhaps some *Atheists*, and served to good purpose among the *vulgar*, (as pitiful things as they are) in strengthening the

authority of *Law* with the terrors of *Conscience*, and expectation of certain rewards, and unavoidable punishments. There was no other *Religion*, and therefore *that* was better then *none at all*. But to us who have no need of them, to us who deride their *folly*, and are wearied with their *impertinencies*, they ought to appear no better arguments for *Verse*, then those of their worthy *Successors*, the *Knights Errant*. What can we imagine more proper for the ornaments of *Wit* or *Learning* in the story of *Deucalion*, then in ¹⁰ that of *Noah*? why will not the actions of *Sampson* afford as plentiful matter as the *Labors* of *Hercules*? why is not *Jephtha's Daughter* as good a woman as *Iphigenia*? and the friendship of *David* and *Jonathan* more worthy celebration, then that of *Theseus* and *Pirithous*? Does not the passage of *Moses* and the *Israelites* into the *Holy Land*, yield incomparably more Poetical variety, then the voyages of *Ulysses* or *Æneas*? Are the obsolete threadbare tales of *Thebes* and *Troy*, half so stored with great, heroical ²⁰ and supernatural actions (since *Verse* will needs *finde* or *make* such) as the wars of *Joshua*, of the *Judges*, of *David*, and divers others? Can all the *Transformations* of the *Gods*, give such copious hints to flourish and expatiate on, as the true *Miracles* of *Christ*, or of his *Prophets*, and *Apostles*? what do I instance in these few particulars? All the *Books* of the *Bible* are either already most admirable, and exalted pieces of *Poesie*, or are the best *Materials* in the world for it. Yet, though they be in them- ³⁰ selves so proper to be made use of for this purpose;

None but a good *Artist* will know how to do it : neither must we think to cut and polish *Diamonds* with so little pains and skill as we do *Marble*. For if any man design to compose a *Sacred Poem*, by onely turning a story of the *Scripture*, like Mr. *Quarles's*, or some other godly matter, like Mr. *Heywood of Angels*, into *Rhyme* ; He is so far from elevating of *Poesie*, that he onely abases *Divinity*. In brief, he who can write a *prophane Poem well*,
10 may write a *Divine one better* ; but he who can do that but ill, will do this much worse. The same fertility of *Invention*, the same wisdom of *Disposition* ; the same *Judgement* in observance of *Decencies*, the same lustre and vigor of *Elocution* ; the same modesty and majestie of *Number* ; briefly the same kinde of *Habit*, is required to both ; only this latter allows better *stuff*, and therefore would look more de-
formedly, if *ill-drest* in it. I am farre from assuming to my self to have fulfilled the duty of this weighty
20 undertaking : But sure I am, that there is nothing yet in our *Language* (nor perhaps in *any*) that is in any degree answerable to the *Idea* that I conceive of it. And I shall be ambitious of no other fruit from this weak and imperfect attempt of mine, but the opening of a way to the courage and industry of some other persons, who may be better able to perform it throughly and succesfully.

THE PREFACE TO THE PINDARIQUE ODES

IF a man should undertake to translate *Pindar* word for word, it would be thought that *one Mad-man* had translated *another*; as may appear, when a person who understands not the *Original*, reads the verbal Traduction of him into *Latin Prose*, then which nothing seems more *Raving*. And sure, *Rhyme*, without the addition of *Wit*, and the *Spirit of Poetry* (*quod nequeo monstrare, & sentio tantum*) would but ¹⁰ make it ten times more *Distracted* then it is in *Prose*. We must consider in *Pindar* the great difference of time betwixt his age and ours, which changes, as in *Pictures*, at least the *Colours of Poetry*, the no less difference betwixt the *Religions* and *Customs* of our Countreys, and a thousand particularities of places, persons, and manners, which do but confusedly appear to our eyes at so great a distance. And lastly, (which were enough alone for my purpose) we must consider that our Ears are strangers to the Musick of ²⁰ his *Numbers*, which sometimes (especially in *Songs* and *Odes*) almost without any thing else, makes an excellent *Poet*; for though the *Grammarians* and *Criticks* have labored to reduce his Verses into regular feet and measures (as they have also those of the *Greek* and *Latine Comedies*) yet in effect they are little better then *Prose* to our Ears. And I would

gladly know what applause our best pieces of *English Poesie* could expect from a *Frenchman* or *Italian*, if converted faithfully, and word for word, into *French* or *Italian Prose*. And when we have considered all this, we must needs confess, that after all these losses sustained by *Pindar*, all we can adde to him by our wit or invention (not deserting still his subject) is not like to make him a *Richer man* then he was in his *own Countrey*. This is in some measure to be applied
10 to all *Translations*; and the not observing of it, is the cause that all which ever I yet saw, are so much inferior to their *Originals*. The like happens too in *Pictures*, from the same root of exact *Imitation*; which being a vile and unworthy kinde of *Servitude*, is incapable of producing any thing good or noble. I have seen *Originals* both in *Painting* and *Poesie*, much more beautiful then their *natural Objects*; but I never saw a *Copy* better than the *Original*, which indeed cannot be otherwise; for men resolving in no
20 case to shoot *beyond the Mark*, it is a thousand to one if they shoot not *short* of it. It does not at all trouble me that the *Grammarians* perhaps will not suffer this libertine way of rendring foreign Authors, to be called *Translation*; for I am not so much enamoured of the *Name Translator*, as not to wish rather to be *Something Better*, though it want yet a *Name*. I speak not so much all this, in defence of my maner of *Translating*, or *Imitating* (or what other Title they please) the two ensuing *Odes* of *Pindar*; for that
30 would not deserve half these words, as by this occasion to rectifie the opinion of divers men upon this matter. The *Psalms* of *David*, (which I believe to

have been in their *Original*, to the *Hebrews* of his time, though not to our *Hebrews* of *Buxtorfius* his making, the most exalted pieces of *Poesie*) are a great example of what I have said ; all the *Translators* of which (even Mr. *Sands* himself ; for in despite of popular error, I will be bold not to except him) for this very reason, that they have not sought to supply the lost Excellencies of another *Language* with new ones in their own ; are so far from doing honour, or at least justice to that *Divine Poet*, that, methinks, 10 they revile him worse then *Shimei*. And *Bucanan* himself (though much the best of them all, and indeed a great Person) comes in my opinion no less short of *David*, then his *Countrey* does of *Judæa*. Upon this ground, I have in these two *Odes* of *Pindar* taken, left out, and added what I please ; nor make it so much my aim to let the Reader know precisely what he spoke, as what was his *way* and *manner* of speaking ; which has not been yet (that I know of) introduced into *English*, though it be the noblest and 20 highest kind of writing in Verse ; and which might, perhaps, be put into the List of *Pancirollus*, among the *lost Inventions* of *Antiquity*. This *Essay* is but to try how it will look in an *English habit* : for which experiment, I have chosen one of his *Olympique*, and another of his *Nemeæan Odes* ; which are as followeth.

A PROPOSITION

FOR THE

ADVANCEMENT OF
EXPERIMENTAL PHILOSOPHY

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For the
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Of
EXPERIMENTAL
Philosophy.

By A. COWLEY.



LONDON,

Printed by J. M. for *Henry Herringman* ; and are to be
fold at his Shop at the Sign of the *Blew-Anchor* in the
Lower-Walk of the New Exchange, 1661.

A
PROPOSITION
For the
ADVANCEMENT
Of
LEARNING.

By A. COWLEY.

VIRG.

*O Fortunati quorum jam Mænia
surgunt!*

LONDON,

Printed by J. M. for Henry Herringman,
and are to be sold at his Shop at the
Blew *Anchor* in the Lower-Walk of
the New-Exchange, 1661.

To the Honourable Society for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy.

The Author of the following discourse, having since his going into *France* allowed me to make it publick, I thought I should do it most right by presenting it to Your Considerations; to the end that when it hath been fully examin'd by You, and receiv'd such Additions or Alterations as You shall think fit, the Design thereof may be promoted by Your recommending the Practice of it to the Nation. I am, 10

Your most humble Servant,

P. P.

The Preface.

All Knowledge must either be of God, or of his Creatures, that is, of Nature; the first is called from the Object, Divinity; the latter, Natural Philosophy, and is divided into the Contemplation of the Immediate or Mediate Creatures of God, that is, the Creatures of his Creature Man. Of this latter kind are all Arts for the use of Humane Life, which are thus again divided: 20 Some are purely Humane, or made by Man alone, and as it were intirely spun out of himself, without relation to other Creatures, such are Grammar and Logick, to improve his Natural Qualities of Internal and External

speech ; as likewise Rhetorick and Politicks (or Law) to fulfill and exalt his Natural Inclination to Society. Other are mixt, and are Mans Creatures no otherwise then by the Result which he effects by Conjunction and Application of the Creatures of God. Of these parts of Philosophy that which treats of God Almighty (properly called Divinity) which is almost only to be sought out of his revealed will, and therefore requires only the diligent and pious study of that, and of the best Inter-
10 preters upon it; and that part which I call purely Humane, depending solely upon Memory and Wit, that is, Reading and Invention, are both excellently well provided for by the Constitution of our Universities
But the other two Parts, the Inquisition into the Nature of Gods Creatures, and the Application of them to Humane Uses (especially the latter) seem to be very slenderly provided for, or rather almost totally neglected, except onely some small assistances to Physick, and the Mathematicks. And therefore the Founders of our
20 Colledges have taken ample care to supply the Students with multitude of Books, and to appoint Tutors and frequent Exercises, the one to interpret, and the other to confirm their Reading, as also to afford them sufficient plenty and leisure for the opportunities of their private study, that the Beams which they receive by Lecture may be doubled by Reflections of their own Wit: But towards the Observation and Application, as I said, of the Creatures themselves, they have allowed no Instru-
ments, Materials, or Conveniences. Partly, because the
30 necessary expence thereof is much greater, then of the other; and partly from that idle and pernicious opinion which had long possessd the World. that all things to be

searcht in Nature, had been already found and discovered by the Ancients, and that it were a folly to travel about for that which others had before brought home to us. And the great Importer of all Truths they took to be Aristotle, as if (as Macrobius speaks foolishly of Hippocrates) he could neither deceive nor be deceived, or as if there had been not only no Lies in him, but all Verities. O true Philosophers in one sence! and contented with a very Little! Not that I would disparage the admirable Wit, and worthy labours of many of the 10 Ancients, much less of Aristotle, the most eminent among them; but it were madness to imagine that the Cisterns of men should afford us as much, and as wholesome Waters, as the Fountains of Nature. As we understand the manners of men by conversation among them, and not by reading Romances, the same is our case in the true Apprehension & Judgement of Things. And no man can hope to make himself as rich by stealing out of others Truncks, as he might by opening and digging of new Mines. If he conceive that all are 20 already exhausted, let him consider that many lazily thought so hundred years ago, and yet nevertheless since that time whole Regions of Art have been discovered, which the Ancients as little dreamt of as they did of America. There is yet many a Terra Incognita behind to exercise our diligence, and let us exercise it never so much, we shall leave work enough too for our Posterity.

This therefore being laid down as a certain Foundation, that we must not content our selves with that Inheritance of Knowledge which is left us by the labour 30 and bounty of our Ancestors, but seek to improve those very grounds. and adde to them new and greater

Purchases ; it remains to be considered by what means we are most likely to attain the ends of this virtuous Covetousness.

And certainly the solitary and unactive Contemplation of Nature, by the most ingenious Persons living, in their own private Studies, can never effect it. Our Reasoning Faculty as well as Fancy, does but Dream, when it is not guided by sensible Objects. We shall compound where Nature has divided, and divide where
10 Nature has compounded, and create nothing but either Deformed Monsters, or at best pretty but impossible Mermaids. 'Tis like Painting by Memory and Imagination which can never produce a Picture to the Life. Many Persons of admirable abilities (if they had been wisely managed and profitably employed) have spent their whole time and diligence in commentating upon Aristotles Philosophy, who could never go beyond him, because their design was only to follow, not grasp, or lay hold on, or so much as touch Nature, because they
20 catcht only at the shadow of her in their own Brains. And therefore we see that for above a thousand years together nothing almost of Ornament or Advantage was added to the Uses of Humane Society, except only Guns and Printing, whereas since the Industry of Men has ventured to go abroad, out of Books and out of Themselves, and to work among Gods Creatures, instead of Playing among their Own, every age has abounded with excellent Inventions, and every year perhaps might do so, if a considerable number of select Persons were
30 set apart, and well directed, and plentifully provided for the search of them. But our Universities having been founded in those former times that I complain of, it is

no wonder if they be defective in their Constitution as to this way of Learning, which was not then thought on.

For the supplying of which Defect, it is humbly proposed to his Sacred Majesty, his most Honourable Parliament, and Privy Council, and to all such of his Subjects as are willing and able to contribute any thing towards the advancement of real and useful Learning, that by their Authority, Encouragement, Patronage, and Bounty, a Philosophical Colledge may be erected, after this ensuing, or some such like Model.

10

The Colledge.

That the Philosophical Colledge be scituated within one, two, or (at farthest) three miles of *London*, and, if it be possible to find that convenience, upon the side of the River, or very near it.

That the Revenue of this Colledge amount to four thousand pounds a year.

That the Company received into it be as follows.

1. Twenty Philosophers or Professors.
2. Sixteen young Scholars, Servants to the Professors.
3. A ²⁰ Chaplain.
4. A Baily for the Revenue.
5. A Manciple or Purveyour for the provisions of the House.
6. Two Gardeners.
7. A Master-Cook.
8. An Under-Cook.
9. A Butler.
10. An Under-Butler.
11. A Chirurgeon.
12. Two Lungs, or Chymical Servants.
13. A Library-keeper who is likewise to be Apothecary, Druggist, and Keeper of Instruments, Engines, &c.
14. An Officer to feed and take care

of all Beasts, Fowl, &c. kept by the Colledge.
15. A Groom of the Stable. 16. A Messenger to
send up and down for all uses of the Colledge.
17. Four old Women, to tend the Chambers, keep
the House clean, and such like services.

That the annual allowance for this Company be as
follows. 1. To every Professor, and to the Chaplain,
one hundred and twenty Pounds. 2. To the sixteen
Scholars 20^l a piece, 10^l for their diet, and 10^l for
10 their Entertainment. 3. To the Bailly 30^l besides
allowance for his Journeys. 4. To the Purveyour
or Manciple thirty pounds. 5. To each of the
Gardeners twenty Pounds. 6. To the Master-Cook
twenty Pounds. 7. To the Under-Cook four Pounds.
8. To the Butler ten Pounds. 9. To the Under-
Butler four Pounds. 10. To the Chirurgeon thirty
Pounds. 11. To the Library-Keeper thirty Pounds.
12. To each of the Lungs twelve Pounds. 13. To
the Keeper of the Beasts six Pounds. 14. To the
20 Groom five Pounds. 15. To the Messenger twelve
Pounds. 16. To the four necessary Women ten
Pounds. For the Manciples Table at which all the
Servants of the House are to eat, except the Scholars,
one hundred sixty Pounds. For 3 Horses for the
Service of the Colledge, thirty Pounds.

All which amounts to three thousand two hundred
eighty five Pounds. So that there remains for keep-
ing of the House and Gardens, and Operatories, and
Instruments, and Animals, and Experiments of all
30 sorts, and all other expences, seven hundred & fifteen
Pounds.

Which were a very inconsiderable sum for the

great uses to which it is designed, but that I conceive the Industry of the Colledge will in a short time so enrich it self as to get a far better Stock for the advance and enlargement of the work when it is once begun ; neither is the continuance of particular mens liberality to be despaired of, when it shall be encouraged by the sight of that publick benefit which will accrue to all Mankind, and chiefly to our Nation, by this Foundation. Something likewise will arise from Leases and other Casualties ; that nothing of which 10 may be diverted to the private gain of the Professors, or any other use besides that of the search of Nature, and by it the general good of the world, and that care may be taken for the certain performance of all things ordained by the Institution, as likewise for the protection and encouragement of the Company, it is proposed—

That some Person of Eminent Quality, a Lover of solid Learning, and no Stranger in it, be chosen Chancellor or President of the Colledge, and that 20 eight Governours more, men qualified in the like manner, be joyned with him, two of which shall yearly be appointed Visitors of the Colledge, and receive an exact account of all expences even to the smallest, and of the true estate of their publick Treasure, under the hands and oaths of the Professors Resident.

That the choice of the Professors in any vacancy belong to the Chancellour and the Governours, but that the Professors (who are likeliest to know what men of the Nation are most proper for the duties of 30 their Society) direct their choice by recommending

two or three persons to them at every Election. And that if any learned Person within his Majesties Dominions discover or eminently improve any useful kind of knowledge, he may upon that ground for his reward and the encouragement of others, be preferr'd, if he pretend to the place, before any body else.

That the Governours have power to turn out any Professor who shall be proved to be either scandalous or unprofitable to the Society.

- 10 That the Colledge be built after this, or some such manner: That it consist of three fair Quadrangular Courts, and three large grounds, enclosed with good walls behind them. That the first Court be built with a fair Cloyster, and the Professors Lodgings or rather little Houses, four on each side at some distance from one another, and with little Gardens behind them, just after the manner of the *Chartreux* beyond Sea. That the inside of the Cloyster be lined with a Gravel-walk, and that walk with a row of
20 Trees, and that in the middle there be a Parterre of Flowers, and a Fountain.

That the second Quadrangle just behind the first, be so contrived, as to contain these parts. 1. A Chappel. 2. A Hall with two long Tables on each side for the Scholars and Officers of the House to eat at, and with a Pulpit and Forms at the end for the publick Lectures. 3. A large and pleasant Dining-Room within the Hall for the Professors to eat in, and to hold their Assemblies and Conferences. 4. A
30 publick School-house. 5. A Library. 6. A Gallery to walk in, adorned with the Pictures or Statues of all the Inventors of any thing useful to Humane

Life; as Printing, Guns, *America*, &c. and of late in Anatomy, the Circulation of the Blood, the Milky Veins, and such like discoveries in any Art, with short Elogies under the Portraictures: As likewise the Figures of all sorts of Creatures, and the stuff skins of as many strange Animals as can be gotten.

7. An Anatomy Chamber adorned with Skeletons and Anatomical Pictures, and prepared with all conveniences for Dissection. 8. A Chamber for all manner of Druggs, and Apothecaries Materials. 10
9. A Mathematical Chamber furnisht with all sorts of Mathematical Instruments, being an Appendix to the Library. 10. Lodgings for the Chaplain, Chirurgeon, Library-Keeper and Purveyour, near the Chapel, Anatomy Chamber, Library and Hall.

That the third Court be on one side of these, very large, but meanly built, being designed only for use and not for beauty too, as the others. That it contain the Kitchin, Butteries, Brew-house, Bake-house, Dairy, Lardry, Stables, &c. and especially great 20 Laboratories for Chymical Operations, and Lodgings for the Under-servants.

That behind the second Court be placed the Garden, containing all sorts of Plants that our Soil will bear, and at the end a little House of pleasure, a Lodge for the Gardener, and a Grove of Trees cut out into Walks.

That the second enclosed ground be a Garden, destined only to the tryal of all manner of Experiments concerning Plants, as their Melioration, Acce- 30 leration, Retardation, Conservation, Composition, Transmutation, Coloration, or whatsoever else can

be produced by Art either for use or curiosity, with a Lodge in it for the Gardener.

That the third Ground be employed in convenient Receptacles for all sorts of Creatures which the Professors shall judge necessary for their more exact search into the nature of Animals, and the improvement of their Uses to us.

That there be likewise built in some place of the Colledge where it may serve most for Ornament
10 of the whole, a very high Tower for observation of Celestial Bodies, adorned with all sorts of Dyals and such like Curiosities ; and that there be very deep Vaults made under ground, for Experiments most proper to such places, which will be undoubtedly very many.

Much might be added, but truly I am afraid this is too much already for the charity or generosity of this age to extend to ; and we do not design this after the Model of *Solomons* House in my Lord *Bacon* (which
20 is a Project for Experiments that can never be Experimented) but propose it within such bounds of Expence as have often been exceeded by the Buildings of private Citizens.

*Of the Professors, Scholars, Chaplain,
and other Officers.*

That of the twenty Professors four be always travelling beyond Seas, and sixteen always Resident, unless by permission upon extraordinary occasions, and every one so absent, leaving a Deputy behind
30 him to supply his Duties.

That the four Professors Itinerant be assigned to the four parts of the World, *Europe, Asia, Afrique,* and *America*, there to reside three years at least, and to give a constant account of all things that belong to the Learning, and especially Natural Experimental Philosophy of those parts.

That the expence of all Dispatches, and all Books, Simples, Animals, Stones, Metals, Minerals, &c. and all curiosities whatsoever, natural or artificial, sent by them to the Colledge, shall be defrayed out of the Treasury, and an additional allowance (above the 120^l) made to them as soon as the Colledges Revenue shall be improved. 10

That at their going abroad they shall take a solemn Oath never to write any thing to the Colledge, but what after very diligent Examination, they shall fully believe to be true, and to confess and recant it as soon as they find themselves in an Errour.

That the sixteen Professors Resident shall be bound to study and teach all sorts of Natural, Experimental Philosophy, to consist of the Mathematicks, 20
Mechanicks, Medicine, Anatomy, Chymistry, the History of Animals, Plants, Minerals, Elements, &c. Agriculture, Architecture, Art Military, Navigation, Gardening; The Mysteries of all Trades, and Improvement of them; The Façture of all Merchandizes, all Natural Magick or Divination; and briefly all things contained in the Catalogue of Natural Histories annexed to My Lord Bacon's *Organon*.

That once a day from *Easter* till *Michaelmas*, and 30
twice a week from *Michaelmas* to *Easter*, at the hours in the afternoon most convenient for Auditors from

London according to the time of the year, there shall be a Lecture read in the Hall, upon such parts of Natural Experimental Philosophy, as the Professors shall agree on among themselves, and as each of them shall be able to perform usefully and honourably.

That two of the Professors by daily, weekly, or monethly turns shall teach the publick Schools according to the Rules hereafter prescribed.

- 10 That all the Professors shall be equal in all respects (except precedency, choice of Lodging, and such like priviledges, which shall belong to Seniority in the Colledge) and that all shall be Masters and Treasurers by annual turns, which two Officers for the time being shall take place of all the rest, and shall be *Arbitri duarum Mensarum*.

- That the Master shall command all the Officers of the Colledge, appoint Assemblies or Conferences upon occasion, and preside in them with a double
10 voice, and in his absence the Treasurer, whose business is to receive and disburse all moneys by the Masters order in writing, (if it be an extraordinary) after consent of the other Professors.

- That all the Professors shall sup together in the Parlour within the Hall every night, and shall dine there twice a week (to wit *Sundays* and *Thursdays*) at two round Tables for the convenience of discourse, which shall be for the most part of such matters as may improve their Studies and Professions, and to
30 keep them from falling into loose or unprofitable talk shall be the duty of the two *Arbitri Mensarum*, who may likewise command any of the Servant-Scholars

to read to them what he shall think fit, whilst they are at table: That it shall belong likewise to the said *Arbitri Mensarum* only, to invite Strangers, which they shall rarely do, unless they be men of Learning or great Parts, and shall not invite above two at a time to one table, nothing being more vain and unfruitful then numerous Meetings of Acquaintance.

That the Professors Resident shall allow the Colledge twenty Pounds a year for their Diet, whether they continue there all the time or not. 10

That they shall have once a week an Assembly or Conference concerning the Affairs of the Colledge and the progress of their Experimental Philosophy.

That if any one find out any thing which he conceives to be of consequence, he shall communicate it to the Assembly to be examined, experimented, approved or rejected.

That if any one be Author of an Invention that may bring in profit, the third part of it shall belong to the Inventor, and the two other to the Society; 20 and besides if the thing be very considerable, his Statue or Picture with an Elogy under it, shall be placed in the Gallery, and made a Denison of that Corporation of famous Men.

That all the Professors shall be always assigned to some particular Inquisition (besides the ordinary course of their Studies) of which they shall give an account to the Assembly, so that by this means there may be every day some operation or other made in all the Arts, as Chymistry, Anatomy, Mechanicks, 30 and the like, and that the Colledge shall furnish for the charge of the operation.

That there shall be kept a Register under lock and key, and not to be seen but by the Professors, of all the Experiments that succeed, signed by the persons who made the tryall.

That the popular and received Errours in Experimental Philosophy (with which, like Weeds in a neglected Garden it is now almost all overgrown) shall be evinced by tryal, and taken notice of in the publick Lectures, that they may no longer abuse the
 10 credulous, and beget new ones by consequence or similitude.

That every third year (after the full settlement of the Foundation) the Colledge shall give an account in Print, in proper and ancient Latine, of the fruits of their triennial Industry.

That every Professor Resident shall have his Scholar to wait upon him in his Chamber and at Table, whom he shall be obliged to breed up in Natural Philosophy, and render an account of his
 20 progress to the Assembly, from whose Election he received him, and therefore is responsible to it, both for the care of his Education, and the just and civil usage of him.

That the Scholar shall understand Latine very well, and be moderately initiated in the Greek before he be capable of being chosen into the Service, and that he shall not remain in it above seven years.

That his Lodging shall be with the Professor whom he serves.

30 That no Professor shall be a married man, or a Divine, or Lawyer in practice, only Physick he may be allowed to prescribe, because the study of

that Art is a great part of the duty of his place, and the duty of that is so great, that it will not suffer him to lose much time in mercenary practice.

That the Professors shall in the Colledge wear the habit of ordinary Masters of Art in the Universities, or of Doctors, if any of them be so.

That they shall all keep an inviolable and exemplary friendship with one another, and that the Assembly shall lay a considerable pecuniary mulct upon any one who shall be proved to have entered ¹⁰ so far into a quarrel as to give uncivil Language to his Brother-Professor; and that the perseverance in any enmity shall be punish'd by the Governours with expulsion.

That the Chaplain shall eat at the Masters Table, (paying his twenty pounds a year as the others do) and that he shall read Prayers once a day at least, a little before Supper-time; that he shall preach in the Chappel every *Sunday* Morning, and Catechize in the After-noon the Scholars and the School-boys; ²⁰ that he shall every moneth administer the Holy Sacrament; that he shall not trouble himself and his Auditors with the Controversies of Divinity, but only teach God in his just Commandments, and in his wonderful Works.

The School.

That the School may be built so as to contain about two hundred Boys.

That it be divided into four Classes, not as others are ordinarily into six or seven, because we suppose ³⁰

that the Children sent hither to be initiated in Things as well as Words, ought to have past the two or three first, and to have attained the age of about thirteen years, being already well advanced in the Latine Grammar, and some Authors.

That none, though never so rich, shall pay any thing for their teaching; and that if any Professor shall be convicted to have taken any money in consideration of his pains in the School, he shall be
10 expelled with ignominie by the Governours; but if any persons of great estate and quality, finding their Sons much better Proficients in Learning here, then Boys of the same age commonly are at other Schools, shall not think fit to receive an obligation of so near concernment without returning some marks of acknowledgement, they may, if they please (for nothing is to be demanded) bestow some little rarity or curiosity upon the Society in recompence of their trouble.

And because it is deplorable to consider the loss
20 which Children make of their time at most Schools, employing, or rather casting away six or seven years in the learning of words only, and that too very imperfectly:

That a Method be here established for the infusing Knowledge and Language at the same time into them; and that this may be their Apprenticeship in Natural Philosophy. This we conceive may be done, by breeding them up in Authors, or pieces of Authors, who treat of some parts of Nature, and who may be
30 understood with as much ease and pleasure, as those which are commonly taught; Such are in Latine

Varro, Cato, Columella, Pliny, part of *Celsus*, and of *Seneca, Cicero de Divinatione, de Naturâ Deorum*, and several scattered pieces, *Virgil's Georgicks, Grotius, Nemesianus, Manilius*; and because the truth is we want good Poets (I mean we have but few) who have purposely treated of solid and learned, that is, Natural Matters (the most part indulging to the weakness of the world, and feeding it either with the follies of Love, or with the Fables of gods and Heroes) we conceive that one Book ought to be 10 compiled of all the scattered little parcels among the ancient Poets that might serve for the advancement of Natural Science, and which would make no small or unuseful or unpleasant Volume. To this we would have added the Morals and Rhetoricks of *Cicero*, and the Institutions of *Quintilian*; and for the Comœdians, from whom almost all that necessary part of common discourse, and all the most intimate proprieties of the Language are drawn, we conceive the Boys may be made Masters of them, as a part of their Recrea- 20 tion and not of their task, if once a moneth, or at least once in two, they act one of *Terences* Comœdies, and afterwards (the most advanced) some of *Plautus* his; and this is for many reasons one of the best exercises they can be enjoyned, and most innocent pleasures they can be allowed. As for the Greek Authors, they may study *Nicander, Oppianus* (whom *Scaliger* does not doubt to prefer above *Homer* himself, and place next to his adored *Virgil*) *Aristolles* History of Animals, and other parts, *Theophrastus* 30

4 *Nemesianus W.* : *Nemesianus 1661.*

14 *Volume W.* : *Volumn 1661.*

and *Dioscorides* of Plants, and a Collection made out of several both Poets and other Grecian Writers. For the Morals and Rhetorick *Aristotle* may suffice, or *Hermogenes* and *Longinus* be added for the latter ; with the History of Animals they should be shewed Anatomy as a Divertisement, and made to know the Figures and Natures of those Creatures which are not common among us, disabusing them at the same time of those Errours which are universally admitted
10 concerning many. The same Method should be used to make them acquainted with all Plants ; and to this must be added a little of the ancient and modern Geography, the understanding of the Globes, and the Principles of Geometry and Astronomy. They should likewise use to declaim in Latine and English, as the Romans did in Greek and Latine ; and in all this travel be rather led on by familiarity, encouragement, and emulation, then driven by severity, punishment, and terrour. Upon Festivals and playtimes
20 they should exercise themselves in the Fields by riding, leaping, fencing, mustering and training after the manner of Souldiers, &c. and to prevent all dangers and all disorder, there should always be two of the Scholars with them to be as witnesses and directors of their actions ; In foul weather it would not be amiss for them to learn to dance, that is, to learn just so much (for all beyond is superfluous, if not worse) as may give them a graceful comportment of their bodies.

30 Upon *Sundays*, and all days of Devotion, they are to be a part of the Chaplains Province.

That for all these ends the Colledge so order it, as

that there may be some convenient & pleasant Houses thereabouts, kept by religious, discreet, and careful persons, for the lodging and boarding of young Scholars, that they have a constant eye over them to see that they be bred up there piously, cleanly, and plentifully, according to the proportion of their parents expences.

And that the Colledge, when it shall please God either by their own industry and success, or by the benevolence of Patrons, to enrich them so far, as that ¹⁰ it may come to their turn and duty to be charitable to others, shall at their own charges erect and maintain some House or Houses for the Entertainment of such poor mens Sons whose good Natural Parts may promise either Use or Ornament to the Commonwealth, during the time of their abode at School, and shall take care that it shall be done with the same conveniences as are enjoyed even by rich mens Children (though they maintain the fewer for that cause) there being nothing of eminent and illustrious ²⁰ to be expected from a low, sordid, and Hospital-like Education.

Conclusion.

If I be not much abused by a natural fondness to my own Conceptions (that *στοργή*) of the Greeks, which no other Language has a proper word for) there was never any Project thought upon, which deserves to meet with so few Adversaries as this; for who can without impudent folly oppose the establishment of twenty well selected persons in such a condition of ³⁰

Life, that their whole business and sole profession may be to study the improvement and advantage of all other Professions, from that of the highest General even to the lowest Artisan? Who shall be obliged to employ their whole time, wit, learning, and industry, to these four, the most useful that can be imagined, and to no other Ends; first, to weigh, examine, and prove all things of Nature delivered to us by former ages, to detect, explode, and strike a censure through
10 all false Monies with which the world has been paid and cheated so long, and (as I may say) to set the mark of the Colledge upon all true Coins that they may pass hereafter without any farther Tryal. Secondly, to recover the lost Inventions, and, as it were, Drown'd Lands of the Ancients. Thirdly, to improve all Arts which we now have; And lastly, to discover others which we yet have not. And who shall besides all this (as a Benefit by the by) give the best Education in the world (purely *gratis*) to as many
20 mens Children as shall think fit to make use of the Obligation. Neither does it at all check or enterfere with any parties in State or Religion, but is indifferently to be embraced by all Differences in opinion, and can hardly be conceived capable (as many good Institutions have done) even of Degeneration into any thing harmful. So that, all things considered, I will suppose this Proposition shall encounter with no Enemies, the only Question is, whether it will find Friends enough to carry it on from Discourse and
30 Design to Reality and Effect; the necessary Expences of the Beginning (for it will maintain it self well enough afterwards) being so great (though I have set

them as low as is possible in order to so vast a work) that it may seem hopeless to raise such a sum out of those few dead Reliques of Humane Charity and Publick Generosity which are yet remaining in the World.

FINIS.

A
VISION,

Concerning his late Pretended

HIGHNESSE

Cromwell, the Wicked ;

Containing a Discourse in Vin-
dication of him by a pretended Angel,
and the Confutation thereof by
the Author.

Virgil.

—— *Sua cuiq; Deus fit dira Libido.*

L O N D O N,

Printed for *Henry Herringman* at the
Anchor in the lower walk in the New
Exchange. 1661.

ADVERTISEMENT

This Discourse was written in the time of the late Protector *Richard the Little*, and was but the first Book of Three that were designed by the Author. The second was to be a Discourse with the Guardian-Angel of *England*, concerning all the late Confusions and Misfortunes of it. The third to denounce heavy Judgments against the three Kingdoms, and several Places and Parties in them, unless they prevented them speedily by serious Repentance, and that 10 greatest and hardest work of it, Restitution. There was to be upon this Subject, The Burden of *England*, The Burden of *Scotland*, The Burden of *Ireland*, The Burden of *London*, The Burden of the Army, The Burden of the Divines, The Burden of the Lawyers, and many others, after the manner of Prophetical Threatenings in the Old Testament: But by the extraordinary Mercy of God, (for which we had no pre-
tence of Merit, nor the least glympse of Hope) in the suddain Restoration of Reason, and Right, and Happi- 20 nesse to us, it became not onely unnecessary, but unseasonable and impertinent to prosecute the work. However, it seem'd not so to the Author to publish this first Part, because, though no man can justifie or approve the actions of *Cromwel*, without having all the seeds and principles of wickedness in his heart, yet many there are, even honest and well-meaning

people, who without wading into any depth of Consideration in the matter, and purely deceived by splendid words, and the outward appearances of vanity, are apt to admire him as a great and eminent Person ; which is a Fallacy that extraordinary and especially successful Villanies impose often upon the world. It is the corruption and depravation of human Nature that is the root of this Opinion, though it lie sometimes so deep under ground that we our selves
10 are not able to perceive it ; and when we account any man Great, or Brave, or Wise, or of good Parts, who advances himself and his Family by any other ways but those of Virtue, we are certainly byassed to that judgment by a secret impulse, or at least inclination of the viciousness of our own spirit. It is so necessary for the good and peace of Mankind, that this Error (which grows almost every where, and is spontaneously generated by the rankness of the soyl) should be weeded out, and for ever extirpated, that the Author
20 was content not to suppress this Discourse, because it may contribute somewhat to that end, though it be but a small piece of that which was his original Design.

THE
VISIONS
AND
PROPHECIES
Concerning
ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, And IRELAND.

IT was the Funeral day of the late man who made himself to be called Protectour, and though I bore but little affection, either to the memory of him, or to the trouble and folly of all publick Pageantry, yet ¹⁰ I was forced by the importunity of my company to go along with them, and be a Spectator of that solemnity, the expectation of which had ~~been~~ so great, that it was said to have brought some very curious persons (and no doubt singular Virtuosos) as far as from the Mount in *Cornwall*, and from the *Orcades*. I found there had been much more cost bestowed than either the dead man, or indeed Death it self could deserve. There was a mighty train of black assistants, among which too divers Princes in ²⁰ the persons of their Ambassadors (being infinitely afflicted for the losse of their Brother) were pleased to attend; the Herse was Magnificent, the Idol Crowned, and (not to mention all other Ceremonies which are practised at Royal interrements, and

therefore by no means could be omitted here) the vast multitude of Spectators made up, as it uses to do, no small part of the Spectacle it self. But yet I know not how, the whole was so managed, that, methoughts, it somewhat represented the life of him for whom it was made; Much noise, much tumult, much expence, much magnificence, much vain-glory; briefly, a great show, and yet after all this, but an ill sight. At last (for it seemed long to me, and like
10 his short Reign too, very tedious) the whole Scene past by, and I retired back to my Chamber, weary, and I think more melancholy than any of the Mourners. Where I began to reflect upon the whole life of this Prodigious Man, and sometimes I was filled with horror and detestation of his actions, and sometimes I inclined a little to reverence and admiration of his courage, conduct, and successes; till by these different motions and agitations of mind rocked, as it were, a sleep, I fell at last into this Vision, or
20 if you please to call it but a Dream, I shall not take it ill, because the Father of Poets tells us, Even Dreams too are from God.

But sure it was no Dream; for I was suddenly transported afar off (whether in the body, or out of the body, like *St. Paul*, I know not) and found my self upon the top of that famous Hill in the Island *Mona*, which has the prospect of three Great, and Not-long-since most happy Kingdoms; As soon as ever I lookt upon them, the Not-long-since strook
30 upon my Memory, and called forth the sad representation of all the Sins, and all the Miseries that had overwhelmed them these twenty years. And

I wept bitterly for two or three hours, and when my present stock of moisture was all wasted, I fell a sighing for an hour more, and as soon as I recovered from my passion the use of speech and reason, I broke forth, as I remember (looking upon *England*) into this complaint.

1.

Ah, happy Isle, how art thou chang'd and curst,
 Since I was born, and knew thee first!
 When Peace, which had forsook the World around,
 (Frighted with noise, and the shrill Trumpets sound) 10
 Thee for a private place of rest,
 And a secure retirement chose
 Wherein to build her *Halcyon* Nest;
 No wind durst stir abroad the Air to discompose.

2.

When all the Riches of the Globe beside
 Flow'd in to Thee with every Tide;
 When all that Nature did thy soil deny,
 The Grouth was of thy fruitfull Industry;
 When all the proud and dreadfull Sea,
 And all his Tributary streams, 20
 A constant Tribute paid to Thee;
 When all the liquid World was one extended
 Thames.

3.

When Plenty in each Village did appear,
 And Bounty was it's Steward there;
 When Gold walkt free about in open view,
 Ere it one Conquering parties Prisoner grew;
 18 Industry;] Industry, 1661. 21 Thee;] Thee. 1661.

When the Religion of our State
Had Face and Substance with her Voice,
Ere she by 'er foolish Loves of late,
Like Eccho (once a Nymph) turn'd onely into Noise.

4.

When Men to Men respect and friendship bore,
And God with Reverence did adore ;
When upon Earth no Kingdom could have shown
A happier Monarch to us than our own,
And yet his Subjects by him were
10 (Which is a Truth will hardly be
Receiv'd by any vulgar Ear,
A secret known to few) made happi'r ev'n than He.

5.

Thou doest a *Chaos*, and Confusion now,
A *Babel*, and a *Bedlam* grow,
And like a Frantick person thou doest tear
The Ornaments and Cloaths which thou should'st
wear,
And cut thy Limbs ; and if we see
(Just as thy Barbarous *Britons* did)
Thy Body with Hypocrisie
20 Painted all ore, thou think'st, Thy naked shame
is hid.

6.

The Nations, which envied thee erewhile,
Now laugh (too little 'tis to smile)
They laugh, and would have pitt'y'd thee (alas !)
But that thy Faults all Pity do surpasse.

Art thou the Country which didst hate,
 And mock the *French* Inconstancy?
 And have we, have we seen of late
 Lesse change of Habits there, than Governments in
 Thee?

7.

Unhappy Isle! No ship of thine at Sea,
 Was ever tost and torn like Thee.
 Thy naked Hulk loose on the Waves does beat,
 The Rocks and Banks around her ruin threat;
 What did thy foolish Pilots ail,
 To lay the Compasse quite aside?
 Without a Law or Rule to sayl,
 And rather take the Winds, then Heavens to be their
 Guide?

10

8.

Yet, mighty God, yet, yet, we humbly crave,
 This floating Isle from shipwrack save;
 And though to wash that Bloud which does it stain,
 It well deserves to sink into the Main;
 Yet for the Royal Martyrs prayer
 (The Royal Martyr prays we know)
 This guilty, perishing Vessel spare;
 Hear but his Soul above, and not his bloud below.

20

I think I should have gone on, but that I was interrupted by a strange and terrible Apparition, for there appeared to me (arising out of the earth, as I conceived) the figure of a man taller than a Gyant, or indeed than the shadow of any Gyant in the

evening. His body was naked, but that nakednesse
 adorn'd, or rather deform'd all over, with several
 figures, after the manner of the antient *Britons*,
 painted upon it: and I perceived that most of them
 were the representation of the late battels in our
 civil Warrs, and (if I be not much mistaken) it was
 the battle of *Nasbey* that was drawn upon his Breast.
 His Eyes were like burning Brasse, and there were
 three Crowns of the same mettall (as I guesst) and
 10 that lookt as red-hot too, upon his Head. He held
 in his right hand a Sword that was yet bloody, and
 neverthelesse the Motto of it was *Pax quæritur bello*,
 and in his left hand a thick Book, upon the back
 of w(h)ich was written in Letters of Gold, Acts,
 Ordinances, Protestations, Covenants, Engagements,
 Declarations, Remonstrances, &c. Though this sud-
 dain, unusual, and dreadful object might have quelled
 a greater courage than mine, yet so it pleased God
 (for there is nothing bolder than a Man in a Vision)
 20 that I was not at all daunted, but askt him resolutely
 and briefly, What art thou? And he said, I am
 called The North-west Principality, His Highnesse,
 the Protector of the Common-wealth of *England*,
Scotland, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions belonging
 thereunto, for I am that Angel to whom the Almighty
 has committed the Government of those three King-
 doms which thou seest from this place. And I
 answered and said, If it be so, Sir, it seems to me
 that for almost these twenty years past your High-

19 nothing] nothhing 1661.

29 these] thrice 1661, altered in Bodleian copy by a contemporary hand.

nesse has been absent from your charge: for not onely if any Angel, but if any wise and honest Man had since that time been our Governour, we should not have wandred thus long in these laborious and endlesse Labyrinths of confusion, but either not have entered at all into them, or at least have returned back ere we had absolutely lost our way; but instead of your Highnesse, we have had since such a Protector as was his Predecessor *Richard* the Third to the King his Nephew; for he presently slew the 10 Common-wealth, which he pretended to protect, and set up himself in the place of it; a little lesse guilty indeed in one respect, because the other slew an Innocent, and this Man did but murder a Mu<r>derer. Such a Protector we have had as we would have been glad to have changed for any Enemy, and rather received a constant Turk, than this every moneths Apostate; such a Protector as Man is to his Flocks, which he sheers, and sells, or devours himself; and I would fain know, what the Wolf, which he protects 20 him from, could do more. Such a Protector—and as I was proceeding, me-thoughts, his Highnesse began to put on a displeased and threatning countenance, as men use to do when their dearest Friends happen to be traduced in their company, which gave me the first rise of jealousy against him, for I did not believe that *Cromwell* amongst all his forein Correspondences had ever held any with Angels. However I was not hardned enough yet to venture a quarrel with him then; and therefore (as if I had 30 spoken to the Protector himself in White-hall) I desired him that his Highnesse would please to

OLIVER CRO

pardon me if I had unwittingly spoken any thing to the disparagement of a person, whose relations to his Highnesse I had not the honour to know. At which he told me, that he had no other concernment for his late Highnesse, than as he took him to be the greatest Man that ever was of the *English* Nation, if not (said he) of the whole World, which gives me a just title to the defence of his reputation, since I now account my self, as it were, a naturalized
10 *English* Angel, by having had so long the management of the affairs of that Country. And pray Country-man (said he, very kindly and very flatteringly) for I would not have you fall into the general error of the World, that detests and decryes so extraordinary a Virtue, what can be more extraordinary than that a person of mean birth, no fortune, no eminent qualities of Body (which have sometimes) or of Mind (which have often raised men to the highest dignities) should have the courage to attempt,
20 and the happinesse to succeed in so improbable a design, as the destruction of one of the most antient, and in all appearance most solidly founded Monarchies upon the Earth? that he should have the power or boldnesse to put his Prince and Master to an open and infamous death? to banish that numerous, and strongly-allied Family? to do all this under the name and wages of a Parliament; to trample upon them too as he pleased, and spurn them out of dores when he grew weary of them; to raise
30 up a new and unheard-of Monster out of their Ashes; to stifle that in the very infancy, and set

up himself above all things that ever were called Sovereign in *England*; to oppress all his Enemies by Arms, and all his Friends afterwards by Artifice; to serve all parties patiently for a while, and to command them victoriously at last; to over-run each corner of the three Nations, and overcome with equal facility both the riches of the South, and the poverty of the North; to be feared and courted by all forein Princes, and adopted a Brother to the gods of the earth; to call together Parliaments with a word of his Pen, and scatter them again with the Breath of his Mouth; to be humbly and daily petitioned that he would please to be hired at the rate of two millions a year, to be the Master of those who had hired him before to be their Servant; to have the Estates and Lives of three Kingdoms as much at his disposal, as was the little inheritance of his Father, and to be as noble and liberal in the spending of them; and lastly (for there is no end of all the particulars of his glory) to bequeath all this with one word to his Posterity; to die with peace at home, and triumph abroad; to be buried among Kings, and with more than Regal solemnity; and to leave a name behind him, not to be extinguisht, but with the whole World, which as it is now too little for his praises, so might have been too for his Conquests if the short line of his Humane Life could have been strecht out to the extent of his immortal designs?

By this speech I began to understand perfectly well what kind of Angel his pretended Highnesse was, and having fortified my self privately with a short mental Prayer, and with the sign of the Crosse not

out of any superstition to the sign, but as a recognition of my Baptism in Christ) I grew a little bolder, and replied in this manner; I should not venture to oppose what you are pleased to say in commendation of the late great, and (I confesse) extraordinary person, but that I remember Christ forbids us to give assent to any other doctrine but what himself has taught us, even though it should be delivered by an Angel; and if such you be, Sir, it may be you have
10 spoken all this rather to try than to tempt my frailty: For sure I am, that we must renounce or forget all the Laws of the New and Old Testament, and those which are the foundation of both, even the Laws of Moral and Natural Honesty, if we approve of the actions of that man whom I suppose you commend by Irony. There would be no end to instance in the particulars of all his wickednesse; but to sum up a part of it briefly; What can be more extra-
ordinarily wicked, than for a person, such as your
10 self qualify him rightly, to endeavour not onely to exalt himself above, but to trample upon all his equals and betters? to pretend freedom for all men, and under the help of that p(r)etence to make all men his servants? to take Arms against Taxes of scarce two hundred thousand pounds a year, and to raise them himself to above two Milions? to quarrel for the losse of three or four Eares, and strike off three or four hundred Heads? to fight against an imaginary suspition of I know not what two thousand
30 Guards to be fetcht for the King, I know not from whence, and to keep up for himself no lesse than forty thousand? to pretend the defence of Parlia-

ments, and violently to dissolve all even of his own calling, and almost choosing? to undertake the Reformation of Religion, to rob it even to the very skin, and then to expose it naked to the rage of all Sects and Heresies? to set up Counsels of Rapine, and Courts of Murder? to fight against the King under a commission for him; to take him forcibly out of the hands of those for whom he had conquered him; to draw him into his Net, with protestations and vows of fidelity, and when he had caught him in it, 10 to butcher him, with as little shame, as Conscience, or Humanity, in the open face of the whole World? to receive a Commission for King and Parliament, to murder (as I said) the one, and destroy no lesse impudently the other? to fight against Monarchy when he declared for it, and declare against it when he contrived for it in his own person? to abase perfideously and supplant ingratelully his own General first, and afterwards most of those Officers, who with the losse of their Honour, and hazard of their Souls, 20 had lifted him up to the top of his unreasonable ambitions? to break his faith with all Enemies, and with all Friends equally? and to make no lesse frequent use of the most solemn Perjuries than the looser sort of People do of customary Oaths? to usurp three Kingdoms without any shadow of the least pretensions, and to govern them as unjustly as he got them? to set himself up as an Idol (which we know as *St. Paul* says, in it self is nothing) and make the very streets of *London*, like the Valley of 30 *Hinnom*, by burning the bowels of men as a sacrifice

to his *Moloch-ship*? to seek to entail this usurpation upon his Posterity, and with it an endlesse War upon the Nation? and lastly, by the severest Judgement of Almighty God, to dye hardned, and mad, and unrepentant, with the curses of the present Age, and the detestation of all to succeed.

Though I had much more to say (for the Life of man is so short, that it allows not time enough to speak against a Tyrant) yet because I had a mind to
 10 hear how my strange Adversary would behave himself upon this subject, and to give even the Devil (as they say) his right, and fair play in a disputation, I stopt here, and expected (not without the frailty of a little fear) that he should have broke into a violent passion in behalf of his Favourite; but he on the contrary very calmly, and with the Dove-like innocency of a Serpent that was not yet warm'd enough to sting, thus replied to me.

It is not so much out of my affection to that person
 20 whom we discourse of (whose greatnesse is too solid to be shaken by the breath of any Oratory) as for your own sake (honest Country-man) whom I conceive to err, rather by mistake than out of malice, that I shall endeavour to reform your uncharitable and unjust opinion. And in the first place I must needs put you in mind of a Sentence of the most antient of the Heathen Divines, that you men are acquainted withall,

οὐχ ὅσιον κατμένουσιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν εὐχετάσθαι,
 30 Tis wicked with insulting feet to tread
 Upon the Monuments of the Dead.

29 κατμένουσιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν] κατμένισσιν ἐπ' ἀνδρασιν 1661.

And the intention of the reproof there is no lesse proper for this Subject; for it is spoken to a person who was proud and insolent against those dead men to whom he had been humble and obedient whilst they lived. Your Highnesse may please (said I) to add the Verse that follows, as no lesse proper for this Subject (<,>)

Whom God's just doom and their own sins have
sent

Already to their punishment.

10

But I take this to be the rule in the case, that when we fix any infamy upon deceased persons, it should not be done out of hatred to the Dead, but out of love and charity to the Living, that the curses which onely remain in mens thoughts, and dare not come forth against Tyrants (because they are Tyrants) whilst they are so, may at least be for ever settled and engraven upon their Memories, to deterre all others from the like wickednesse, which else in the time of their foolish prosperity, the flattery of their 20 own hearts, and of other mens Tounes, would not suffer them to perceive. Ambition is so subtil a Tempter, and the corruption of humane nature so susceptible of the temptation, that a man can hardly resist it, be he never so much forewarn'd of the evil consequences, much lesse if he find not onely the concurrence of the present, but the approbation too of following ages, which have the liberty to judge more freely. The mischief of Tyranny is too great, even in the shortest time that it can continue, it is 30 endlesse and insupportable, if the Example be to

reign too, and if a *Lambert* must be invited to follow the steps of a *Cromwell* as well by the voice of Honour, as by the sight of power and riches. Though it may seem to some fantastically, yet was it wisely done of the *Syracusians*, to implead with the forms of their ordinary justice, to condemn, and destroy even the Statues of all their Tyrants; If it were possible to cut them out of all History, and to extinguish their very names, I am of opinion that it
10 ought to be done; but since they have left behind them too deep wounds to be ever closed up without a Scar, at least let us set such a mark upon their memory, that men of the same wicked inclinations may be no lesse affrighted with their lasting Ignominy, than enticed by their momentary glories. And that your Highnesse may perceive that I speak not all this out of any private animosity against the person of the late *Protector*, I assure you upon my faith that I bear no more hatred to his name, than I do to that
20 of *Marius* or *Sylla*, who never did me or any friend of mine the least injury; and with that transported by a holy fury, I fell into this sudden rapture.

I.

Curst be the Man (what do I wish? as though
The wretch already were not so;
But curst on let him be) who thinks it brave
And great, his Countrey to enslave.
Who seeks to overpoise alone
The Balance of a Nation;
Against the whole but naked State,
30 Who in his own light Scale makes up with Arms the
weight.

2.

Who of his Nation loves to be the first,
 Though at the rate of being worst.
 Who would be rather a great Monster, than
 A well-proportion'd Man.
 The Son of Earth with hundred hands
 Upon his three-pil'd Mountain stands,
 Till Thunder strikes him from the sky ;
 The Son of Earth again in his Earths womb does lie.

3.

What Bloud, Confusion, Ruin, to obtain
 A short and miserable Reign ? 10
 In what oblique, and humble creeping wise
 Does the mischievous Serpent rise ?
 But even his forked Tounge strikes dead,
 When h'as reard up his wicked Head,
 He murders with his mortal frown,
 A *Basilisk* he grows, if once he get a Crown.

4.

But no Guards can oppose assaulting Cares,
 Or undermining Tears.
 No more than doors, or close-drawn Curtains keep
 The swarming Dreams out when we sleep. 20
 That bloody Conscience too of his
 (For, oh, a Rebell Red-Coat 'tis)
 Does here his early Hell begin,
 He sees his Slaves without, his Tyrant feels within.

17 Cares] Eares 1661, altered by hand in the Bodleian copy to
 Cares; Tears in the next line being unnecessarily altered to Fears.
 See note.

5.

Let, Gracious God, let never more thine hand
Lift up this rod against our Land.
A Tyrant is a Rod and Serpent too,
And brings worse Plagues than *Egypt* knew.
What Rivers stain'd with Bloud have been ?
What Storm and Hail-shot have we seen ?
What Sores deform'd the Ulcerous State ?
What darknesse to be felt has buried us of late ?

6.

How has it snatcht our Flocks and Herds away ?
10 And made even of our Sons a prey ?
What croaking Sects and Vermine has it sent
The restlesse Nation to torment ?
What greedy Troups, what armed power
Of Flies and Locusts to devour
The Land which every where they fill ?
Nor fly they, Lord, away ; no, they devour it still.

7.

Come the eleventh Plague, rather than this should
be ;
Come sink us rather in the Sea.
10 Come rather Pestilence, and reap us down ;
Come Gods Sword rather than our own.
Let rather *Roman* come again,
Or *Saxon*, *Norman*, or the *Dane*,
In all the Bonds we ever bore,
We griev'd, we sigh'd, we wept ; we never blusht
before.

8.

If by our sins the Divine Justice be
Call'd to this last extremity,
Let some denouncing *Jonas* first be sent,
To try if *England* can repent.
Methinks at least some Prodigy,
Some dreadfull Comet from on high,
Should terribly forewarn the Earth,
As of good Princes Deaths, so of a Tyrants birth.

Here the spirit of Verse beginning a little to fail,
I stopt, and his Highnesse smiling said, I was glad ¹⁰
to see you engaged in the Enclosures of *Meeter*, for
if you had staid in the open plain of Declaiming
against the word Tyrant, I must have had patience
for half a dosen hours, till you had tired your self
as well as me. But pray, Countrey-man, to avoid
this sciomachy, or imaginary Combat with words, let
me know first what you mean by the name of Tyrant,
for I remember that among your antient Authors,
not onely all Kings, but even *Jupiter* himself (your
Juvans Pater) is so termed, and perhaps as it was ²⁰
used formerly in a good sence, so we shall find it
upon better consideration to be still a good thing for
the benefit and peace of mankind, at least it will
appear whether your interpretation of it may be
justly applied to the person who is now the subject
of our Discourse. I call him (said I) a Tyrant, who
either intrudes himself forcibly into the Government
of his fellow Citizens without any legal Authority
over them, or who having a just Title to the Govern-
ment of a people, abuses it to the destruction, or ³⁰

tormenting of them. So that all Tyrants are at the same time Usurpers, either of the whole or at least of a part of that power which they assume to themselves, and no lesse are they to be accounted Rebels, since no man can Usurp Authority over others, but by rebelling against them who had it before, or at least against those Laws which were his Superiors; and in all these sences no History can afford us a more evident example of Tyranny, or more out
10 of all possibility of excuse, or palliation, than that of the person whom you are pleased to defend, whether we consider his reiterated rebellions against all his superiors, or his usurpation of the Supream power to himself, or his Tyranny in the exercise of it; and if lawfull Princes have been esteemed Tyrants by not containing themselves within the bounds of those Laws which have been left them as the sphere of their Authority by their fore-fathers, what shall we say of that man, who having by right
20 no power at all in this Nation, could not content himself with that which had satisfied the most ambitious of our Princes? nay, not with those vastly extended limits of Soverainty, which he (disdaining all that had been prescribed and observed before) was pleased (but of great modesty) to set to himself? not abstaining from Rebellion and Usurpation even against his own Laws as well as those of the Nation?

Hold friend (said his Highnesse, (pulling me by
30 my Arm) for I see your zeal is transporting you again) whether the Protector were a Tyrant in the exorbitant exercise of his power we shall see anon,

it is requisite to examine first whether he were so in the Usurpation of it. And I say, that not onely He, but no man else ever was, or can be so; and that for these reasons. First, because all power belongs onely to God, who is the source and fountain of it, as Kings are of all Honours in their Dominions. Princes are but his Viceroys in the little Provinces of this World, and to some he gives their places for a few years, to some for their lives, and to others (upon ends or deserts best known to himself, or 10 meerly for his undisputable good pleasure) he bestows as it were Leases upon them, and their posterity, for such a date of time as is prefixt in that Patent of their Destiny, which is not legible to you men below. Neither is it more unlawfull for *Oliver* to succeed *Charls* in the Kingdom of *England*, when God so disposes of it, than it had been for him to have succeeded the Lord *Strafford* in the Lieutenancy of *Ireland*, if he had been appointed to it by the King then reigning. Men are in both the cases 20 obliged to obey him whom they see actually invested with the Authority by that Sovereign from whom he ought to derive it, without disputing or examining the causes, either of the removeal of the one, or the preferment of the other. Secondly, because all power is attained either by the Election and consent of the people, and that takes away your objection of forcible intrusion; or else by a Conquest of them, and that gives such a legal Authority as you mention to be wanting in the Usurpation of a tyrant; so that either 30 this Title is right, and then there are no Usurpers, or else it is a wrong one, and then there are none

else but Usurpers, if you examine the Original pretences of the Princes of the World. Thirdly, (which quitting the dispute in general, is a particular justification of his Highnesse) the Gover⁽ⁿ⁾ment of *England* was totally broken and dissolved, and extinguisht by the confusions of a Civil War, so that his Highnesse could not be accused to have possest himself violently of the antient building of the Commonwealth, but to have prudently and
10 peaceably built up a new one out of the ruins and ashes of the former; and he who after a deplorable shipwrack can with extraordinary Industry gather together the disperst and broken planks and pieces of it, and with no lesse wonderfull art and felicity so rejoyne them as to make a new Vessel more tight and beautifull than the old one, deserves no doubt to have the command of her (even as his Highnesse had) by the desire of the Sea-men and Passengers themselves. And do but consider lastly (for I omit
20 <a> multitude of weighty things that might be spoken upon this noble argument) do but consider seriously and impartially with your self, what admirable parts of wit and prudence, what indefatigable diligence and invincible courage must of necessity have concurred in the person of that man, who from so contemptible beginnings (as I observed before) and through so many thousand difficulties, was able not onely to make himself the greatest and most absolute Monarch of this Nation, but to add to it the entire
30 Conquest of *Ireland* and *Scotland* (which the whole force of the World joyned with the Roman virtue could never attain to) and to Crown all this with

Illustrious and Heroical undertakings, and successes upon all our forein Enemies; do but (I say again) consider this, and you will confesse, that his prodigious Merits were a better Title to Imperial Dignity, than the blood of an hundred Royal Progenitors; and will rather lament that he lived not to overcome more Nations, than envy him the Conquest and Dominion of these. Who ever you are (said I, my indignation making me somewhat bolder) your discourse (methinks) becomes as little ¹⁰ the person of a Tutelar Angel, as *Cromwells* actions did that of a Protector. It is upon these Principles that all the great Crimes of the World have been committed, and most particularly those which I have had the misfortune to see in my own time, and in my own Countrey. If these be to be allowed, we must break up humane society, retire into the Woods, and equally there stand upon our Guards against our Brethren Mankind, and our Rebels the Wild Beasts. For if there can be no Usurpation upon ²⁰ the rights of a whole Nation, there can be none most certainly upon those of a private person; and if the Robbers of Countreys be Gods Vicegerents, there is no doubt but the Thieves, and Banditos, and Murderers are his under Officers. It is true which you say, that God is the source and fountain of all power, and it is no lesse true that he is the Creator of Serpents as well as Angels, nor does his goodness fail of its ends even in the malice of his own Creatures. What power he suffers the Devil to ³⁰

exercise in this World, is too apparent by our daily experience, and by nothing more than the late monstrous iniquities which you dispute for, and patronize in *England*; but would you inferre from thence, that the power of the Devil is a just and lawful one, and that all men ought, as well as most men do, obey him? God is the fountain of all Powers; but some flow from the right hand (as it were) of his Goodnesse, and others from the left
10 hand of his Justice; and the World, like an Island between these two Rivers, is sometimes refresht and nourished by the one, and sometimes overrun and ruined by the other; and (to continue a little farther the Allegory) we are never overwhelmed with the latter, till either by our malice or negligence we have stopt and damm'd up the former. But to come a little closer to your Argument, or rather the Image of an Argument, your similitude; If *Cromwell* had come to command *Ireland* in the place of the late
20 Lord *Strafford*, I should have yielded obedience, not for the equipage, and the strength, and the guards which he brought with him, but for the Commission which he should first have shewed me from our common Sovereign that sent him; and if He could have done that from God Almighty, I would have obeyed him too in *England*; but that he was so far from being able to do, that on the contrary, I read nothing but commands, and even publick Proclamations from God Almighty, not to admit him. Your
30 second Argument is, that he had the same right for his authority, that is the foundation of all others, even the right of Conquest. Are we then so unhappy

as to be conquered by the person, whom we hired at a daily rate, like a Labourer, to conquer others for us? did we furnish him with Arms, onely to draw and try upon our Enemies (as we, it seems, falsely thought them) and keep them for ever sheath'd in the bowels of his Friends? did we fight for Liberty against our Prince, that we might become Slaves to our Servant? this is such an impudent pretence, as neither He nor any of his Flatterers for him had ever the face to mention. Though it can hardly be ¹⁰ spoken or thought of without passion, yet I shall, if you please, argue it more calmly than the case deserves. The right certainly of Conquest can onely be exercised upon those against whom the War is declared, and the Victory obtained. So that no whole Nation can be said to be conquered but by forein force. In all civil Wars men are so far from stating the quarrel against their Country, that they do it onely against a person or party which they really believe, or at least pretend to be pernicious ²⁰ to it, neither can there be any just cause for the destruction of a part of the Body, but when it is done for the preservation and safety of the Whole. 'Tis our Country that raises men in the quarrel, our Country that arms, our Country that payes them, our Country that authorises the undertaking, and by that distinguishes it from rapine and murder; lastly, 'tis our Country that directs and commands the Army, and is indeed their General. So that to say in Civil Warrs that the prevailing party conquers ³⁰ their Country, is to say, the Country conquers it self. And if the General onely of that party be the

Conquerour, the Army by which he is made so, is no lesse conquered than the Army which is beaten, and have as little reason to triumph in that Victory, by which they lose both their Honour and Liberty. So that if *Cromwell* conquered any party, it was onely that against which he was sent, and what that was, must appear by his Commission. It was (sayes that) against a company of evil Counsellours, and disaffected persons, who kept the King from a good
10 intelligence and conjunction with his People. It was not then against the People. It is so far from being so, that even of that party which was beaten, the Conquest did not belong to *Cromwell* but to the Parliament which employed him in their Service, or rather indeed to the King and Parliament, for whose Service (if there had been any faith in mens vows and protestations) the Warrs were undertaken. Merciful God! did the right of this miserable Conquest remain then in his Majesty, and didst thou
20 suffer him to be destroyed with more barbarity than if he had been conquered even by Savages and Cannibals? was it for King and Parliament that we fought, and has it fared with them just as with the Army which we fought against, the one part being slain, and the other fled? It appears therefore plainly, that *Cromwell* was not a Conquerour, but a Thief and Robber of the Rights of the King and Parliament, and an Usurper upon those of the People. I do not here deny Conquest to be some-
30 times (though it be very rarely) a true title, but I deny this to be a true Conquest. Sure I am, that the race of our Princes came not in by such a one.

One Nation may conquer another sometimes justly, and if it be unjust^(l)y, yet still it is a true Conquest, and they are to answer for the injustice onely to God Almighty (having nothing else in authority above them) and not as particular Rebels to their Country, which is, and ought alwaies to be their Superior and their Lord. If perhaps we find Usurpation instead of Conquest in the Original Titles of some Royal Families abroad (as no doubt there have been many Usurpers before ours, though 10 none in so impudent and execrable a manner) all I can say for them is, that their Title was very weak, till by length of time, and the death of all juster pretenders, it became to be the true, because it was the onely one. Your third defence of his Highnesse (as your Highnesse pleases to call him) enters in most seasonably after his pretence of Conquest, for then a man may say any thing. The Government was broken; Who broke it? It was dissolved; Who dissolved it? It was extinguisht; 20 Who was it but *Cromwell*, who not onely put out the Light, but cast away even the very snuff of it? As if a man should murder a whole Family, and then possesse himself of the House, because 'tis better that He than that onely Rats should live there. Jesus God! (said I, and at that word I perceived my pretended Angel to give a start, and trembled, but I took no notice of it, and went on) this were a wicked pretension even though the whole Family were destroyed, but the Heirs (blessed 30 be God) are yet surviveing, and likely to outlive all Heirs of their dispossessioners, besides their Infamy.

Rode Caper vitem, &c. There will be yet wine enough left for the Sacrifice of those wild Beasts that have made so much spoil in the Vineyard. But did *Cromwell* think, like *Nero*, to set the City on fire, onely that he might have the honour of being founder of a new and more beautiful one? He could not have such a shadow of Virtue in his wickednesse; he meant onely to rob more securely and more richly in midst of the combustion; he little
10 thought then that he should ever have been able to make himself Master of the Palace, as well as plunder the Goods of the Commonwealth. He was glad to see the publick Vessel (the Sovereign of the Seas) in as desperate a condition as his own little Canou, and thought onely with some scattered planks of that great shipwrack to make a better Fisherboat for himself. But when he saw that by the drowning of the Master (whom he himself treacherously knockt on the head as he was swimming for his life) by the
20 flight and dispersion of others, and cowardly patience of the remaining company, that all was abandoned to his pleasure, with the old Hulk and new misshapen and disagreeing peeces of his own, he made up with much adoe that Piratical Vessel which we have seen him command, and which how tight indeed it was, may best be judged by it's perpetual Leaking. First then (much more wicked than those foolish daughters in the Fable, who cut their old Father into pieces, in hope by charms and witchcraft to
30 make him young and lusty again) this man endeavoured to destroy the Building, before he could imagine in what manner, with what materials, by what

workmen, or what Architect it was to be rebuilt. Secondly, if he had dream't himself to be able to revive that body which he had killed, yet it had been but the insupportable insolence of an ignorant Mountebanck ; and thirdly (which concerns us nearest) that very new thing which he made out of the ruines of the old, is no more like the Original, either for beauty, use, or duration, than an artificial Plant raised by the fire of a Chymist is comparable to the true and natural one which he first burnt, 10 that out of the ashes of it he might produce an imperfect similitude of his own making. Your last argument is such (when reduced to Syllogism) that the Major Proposition of it would make strange work in the World, if it were received for truth ; to wit, that he who has the best parts in a Nation, has the right of being King over it. We had enough to do here of old with the contention between two branches of the same Family, what would become of us when every man in *England* should lay his 20 claim to the Government? and truly if *Cromwell* should have commenced his plea when he seems to have begun his ambition, there were few persons besides that might not at the same time have put in theirs to. But his Deserts I suppose you will date from the same term that I do his great Demerits, that is, from the beginning of our late calamities, (for as for his private faults before, I can onely wish (and that with as much Charity to him as to the publick) that he had continued in them till his death, 30 rather than changed them for those of his latter

dayes) and therefore we must begin the consideration of his greatnesse from the unlucky *Æra* of our own misfortunes, which puts me in mind of what was said lesse truly of *Pompey* the Great, *Nostra Miseria Magnus es*. But because the general ground of your argumentation consists in this, that all men who are the effecters of extraordinary mutations in the world, must needs have extraordinary forces of Nature by which they are enabled to turn about, as they please,
10 so great a Wheel; I shall speak first a few words upon this universal proposition, which seems so reasonable, and is so popular, before I descend to the particular examination of the eminences of that person which is in question.

I have often observed (with all submission and resignation of spirit to the inscrutable mysteries of Eternal Providence) that when the fulnesse and maturity of time is come that produces the great confusions and changes in the World, it usually pleases
20 God to make it appear by the manner of them, that they are not the effects of humane force or policy, but of the Divine Justice and Predestination, and though we see a Man, like that which we call Jack of the Clock-house, striking, as it were, the Hour of that fulnesse of time, yet our reason must needs be convinced, that his hand is moved by some secret, and, to us who stand without, invisible direction. And the stream of the Current is then so violent, that the strongest men in the World cannot draw up against
30 it, and none are so weak, but they may sail down with it. These are the Spring-Tides of publick affairs

which we see often happen, but seek in vain to discover any certain causes,

—*Omnia Fluminis*

Hor. Carm.

3. 29.

Ritu feruntur, nunc medio alveo

Cum pace delabentis Hetruscum

In mare, nunc lapides adesos

Stirpesq; raptas, & pecus & domos

Volventis una, non sine montium

Clamore, vicinæque silvæ ;

Cum fera Diluvies quietos

10

Irritat amnes, —

and one man then, by maliciously opening all the Sluces that he can come at, can never be the sole Author of all this (though he may be as guilty as if really he were, by intending and imagining to be so) but it is God that breaks up the Flood-Gates of so general a Deluge, and all the art then and industry of mankind is not sufficient to raise up Dikes and Ramparts against it. In such a time it was as this, that not all the wisdom and power of the Roman 20 Senate, nor the wit and eloquence of *Cicero*, nor the Courage and Virtue of *Brutus* was able to defend their Countrey or Themselves against the unexperienced rashnesse of a beardless Boy, and the loose rage of a voluptuous Madman. The valour and prudent Counsels on the one side are made fruitlesse, and the errors and cowardize on the other harmlesse, by unexpected accidents. The one General saves his life, and gains the whole World, by a very Dream ; and the other loses both at once by a little 30 mistake of the shortnesse of his sight. And though

this be not always so, for we see that in the translation of the great Monarchies from one to another, it pleased God to make choise of the most Eminent men in Nature, as *Cyrus*, *Alexander*, *Scipio* and his contemporaries, for his chief instruments and actors in so admirable a work (the end of this being not onely to destroy or punish one Nation, which may be done by the worst of mankind, but to exalt and blesse another, which is onely to be effected by great and
10 virtuous persons) yet when God onely intends the temporary chastisement of a people, he does not raise up his servant *Cyrus* (as he himself is pleased to call him) or an *Alexander* (who had as many Virtues to do good, as Vices to do harm) but he makes the *Masanellos*, and the *Johns* of *Leyden* the instruments of his vengeance, that the power of the Almighty might bee more evident by the weaknesse of the means which he chooses to demonstrate it. Hee did not assemble the Serpents and the Monsters of Afrique
20 to correct the pride of the *Egyptians*, but called for his Armies of Locusts out of *Æthiopia*, and formed new ones of Vermine out of the very dust; and because you see a whole Countrey destroyed by these, will you argue from thence that they must needs have had both the craft of Foxes, and the courage of Lions? It is easie to apply this general observation to the particular case of our troubles in *England*, and that they seem onely to be meant for a temporary chastisement of our sins, and not for a total abolishment of the old, and introduction of a new Govern-
30 ment, appears probable to me from these considerations, as farre as we may be bold to make a judgement

of the will of God in future events. First, because he has suffered nothing to settle or take root in the place of that which hath been so unwisely and unjustly removed, that none of these untempered Mortars can hold out against the next blast of Wind, nor any stone stick to a stone, till that which these Foolish Builders have refused be made again the Head or the Corner. For when the indisposed and long tormented Commonwealth has wearied and spent it self almost to nothing with the chargeable, various, and 10 dangerous experiments of several Mountebanks, it is to be supposed it will have the wit at last to send for a true Physician, especially when it sees (which is the second consideration) most evidently (as it now begins to do, and will do every day more and more, and might have done perfectly long since) that no Usurpation (under what name or pretext soever) can be kept up without open force, nor force without the continuance of those oppressions upon the people, which will at last tire out their patience, though it be 20 great even to stupidity. They cannot be so dull (when poverty and hunger begins to whet their understanding) as not to find out this no extraordinary mystery, that 'tis madness in a Nation to pay three Millions a year for the maintaining of their servitude under Tyrants, when they might live free for nothing under their Princes. This, I say, will not always ly hid even to the slowest capacities, and the next truth they will discover afterwards, is, that a whole people can never have the will without having at the same time 30 the Power to redeem themselves. Thirdly, it does not look (methinks) as if God had forsaken the family

of that man, from whom he has raised up five Children, of as Eminent virtue, and all other commendable qualities, as ever lived perhaps (for so many together, and so young) in any other family in the whole World. Especially if we add hereto this consideration, that by protecting and preserving some of them already through as great dangers as ever were past with safety, either by Prince or private person, he has given them already (as we may reasonably
10 hope it to be meant) a promise and earnest of his future favours. And lastly (to return closely to the discourse from which I have a little digrest) because I see nothing of those excellent parts of nature, and mixture of Merit with their Vices in the late disturbers of our peace and happinesse, that uses to be found in the persons of those who are born for the erection of new Empires. And I confesse I find nothing of that kind, no not any shadow (taking away the false light of some prosperity) in the man whom
20 you extol for the first example of it. And certainly all Virtues being rightly devided into Moral and Intellectual, I know not how we can better judge of the former than by mens actions, or of the latter than by their Writings or Speeches. As for these latter (which are least in merit, or rather which are onely the instruments of mischief where the other are wanting) I think you can hardly pick out the name of a man who ever was called Great, besides him we are now speaking of, who never left the memory be-
30 hind him of one wise or witty Apothegm even amongst his Domestique Servants or greatest Flatterers. That little in print which remains upon a sad record for

him, is such, as a Satyre against him would not have made him say, for fear of transgressing too much the rules of Probability. I know not what you can produce for the justification of his parts in this kind, but his having been able to deceive so many particular persons, and so many whole parties; which if you please to take notice of for the advantage of his Intellectuals, I desire you to allow me the liberty to do so too, when I am to speak of his Morals. The truth of the thing is this, That if Craft be Wisdom, and Dis- 10 simulation Wit, (assisted both and improved with Hypocrisies and Perjuries) I must not deny him to have been singular in both; but so grosse was the manner in which he made use of them, that as wise-men ought not to have believed him at first, so no man was Fool enough to believe him at last; neither did any man seem to do it, but those who thought they gained as much by that dissembling, as he did by his. His very actings of Godliness grew at last as ridiculous, as if a Player, by putting on a Gown, 20 should think he represented excellently a Woman, though his Beard at the same time were seen by all the Spectators. If you ask me why they did not hisse, and explode him off of the Stage, I can onely answer, that they durst not do so, because the Actors and the Door-keepers were too strong for the Company. I must confesse that by these arts (how grosly soever managed, as by Hypocritical praying, and silly preaching, by unmanly tears and whinings, by falsehoods and perjuries even Diabolical) he had at first 30 the good fortune (as men call it, that is the ill Fortune) to attain his ends; but it was because his ends were

so unreasonable, that no human reason could foresee them ; which made them who had to do with him believe that he was rather a well meaning and deluded Bigot, than a crafty and malicious Impostor, that these arts were helpt by an Indefatigable industry (as you term it) I am so far from doubting, that I intended to Object that diligence as the worst of his Crimes. It makes me almost mad when I hear a man commended for his diligence in wickednesse. If
 10 I were his Son I should wish to God he had been a more lazie person, and that we might have found him sleeping at the hours when other men are ordinarily waking, rather than waking for those ends of his when other men were ordinarily asleep ; how diligent the wicked are the Scripture often tells us ; Their feet run to evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood, *Isa.* 59. 7. He travels with iniquity, *Psal.* 7. 14. He deviseth mischief upon his bed, *Psal.* 34. 4. They search out iniquity, they accom-
 20 plish a diligent search, *Psal.* 64. 6. and in a multitude of other places. And would it not seem ridiculous to praise a Wolf for his watchfulnesse, and for his indefatigable industry in ranging all night about the Countrey, whilst the sheep, and perhaps the shepherd, and perhaps the very Dogs too are all asleep ?

The *Chartreux* wants the warning of a Bell
 To call him to the duties of his Cell ;
 There needs no noise at all t'awaken sin,
 Th' Adulterer and the Thief his Larum has within.

30 And if the diligence of wicked persons be so much to be blamed, as that it is onely an Emphasis and

Exaggeration of their wickednesse, I see not how their Courage can avoid the same censure. If the undertaking bold, and vast, and unreasonable designs can deserve that honorable name, I am sure *Faux* and his Fellow Gun-powder *Fiends* will have cause to pretend, though not an equal, yet at least the next place of Honour, neither can I doubt but if they too had succeeded, they would have found their Applauders and Admirers. It was bold unquestionably for a man in defiance of all human and divine Laws (and with 10 so little probability of a long impunity) so publicly and so outrageously to murder his Master; It was bold with so much insolence and affront to expell and disperse all the chief Partners of his guilt, and Creators of his power; It was bold to violate so openly and so scornfully all Acts and Constitutions of a Nation, and afterwards even of his own making; it was bold to assume the Authority of calling, and bolder yet of breaking so many Parliaments; it was bold to trample upon the patience of his own, and 20 provoke that of all neighbouring Countreys; It was bold, I say, above all boldnesses, to Usurp this Tyranny to himself, and impudent above all impudences to endeavour to transmit it to his posterity. But all this boldnesse is so far from being a sign of manly Courage, (which dares not transgresse the rules of any other Virtue) that it is onely a Demonstration of Brutish Madnesse or Diabolical Possession. In both which last cases there uses frequent examples to appear of such extraordinary force as 30 may justly seem more wonderfull and astonishing than the actions of *Cromwell*, neither is it stranger to

believe that a whole Nation should not be able to govern Him and a Mad Army, than that five or six men should not be strong enough to bind a Distracted Girl. There is no man ever succeeds in one wickedness but it gives him the boldness to attempt a greater; 'Twas boldly done of *Nero* to kill his Mother, and all the chief Nobility of the Empire; 'twas boldly done to set the Metropolis of the whole World on fire, and undauntedly play upon his Harp whilst he
10 saw it burning; I could reckon up five hundred boldnesses of that Great person (for why should not He too be called so?) who wanted when he was to die that courage which could hardly have failed any Woman in the like necessity. It would look (I must confesse) like Envy or too much partiality if I should say that personal kind of Courage had been deficient in the man we speak of; I am confident it was not, and yet I may venture I think to affirm, that no man
20 ever bore the honour of so many victories, at the rate of fewer wounds or dangers of his own body, and though his valour might perhaps have given him a just pretension to one of the first charges in an Army, it could not certainly be a sufficient ground for a Title to the command of three Nations. What then shall we say? that he did all this by Witchcraft? He did so indeed in a great measure by a sin that is called like it in the Scriptures. But truly and unpassionately reflecting upon the advantages of his person which might be thought to have produced
30 those of his Fortune, I can espy no other but extraordinary Diligence and infinite Dissimulation; and believe he was exalted above his Nation partly by

his own Faults, but chiefly for Ours. We have brought him thus briefly (not through all his Labyrinths) to the Supreme Usurpt Authority, and because you say it was great pitie he did not live to command more Kingdoms, be pleased to let me represent to you in a few words, how well I conceive he governed these. And we will divide the consideration into that of his forein and domestique actions. The first of his forein was a Peace with our Brethren of *Holland* (who were the first of our neighbours that God chastised for having had so great a hand in the encouraging and abetting our troubles at home) who would not imagine at first glympse that this had been the most virtuous and laudable deed that his whole Life could make any parade of? but no man can look upon all the circumstances without perceiving, that it was purely the sale and sacrificizing of the greatest advantages that this Countrey could ever hope, and was ready to reap, from a forein War, to the private interests of his covetousnesse and ambition, and the security of his new and unsettled Usurpation. No sooner is that danger past, but this *Beatus Pacificus* is kindling a fire in the Northern World, and carrying a War two thousand miles off Westwards. Two millions a year (besides all the Vales of his Protectorship) is as little capable to suffice now either his Avarice or Prodigality, as the two hundred Pounds were that he was born to. He must have his prey of the whole *Indies* both by Sea and Land, this great Aligator. To satisfie our Anti-Solomon (who has made Silver almost as rare as Gold, and Gold as

Precious stones in his new *Jerusalem*) we must go, ten thousand of his slaves, to fetch him riches from his fantastical *Ophir*. And because his flatterers brag of him as the most Fortunate Prince (the *Faustus* as well as *Sylla* of our Nation, whom God never forsook in any of his undertakings) I desire them to consider, how since the *English* name was ever heard of, it never received so great and so infamous a blow as under the imprudent conduct of this unlucky
10 *Faustus*; and herein let me admire the Justice of God in this circumstance, that they who had enslaved their Country (though a great Army, which I wish may be observed by ours with trembling) should be so shamefully defeated by the hands of forty Slaves. It was very ridiculous to see how prettily they endeavoured to hide this ignominy under the great name of the Conquest of *Jamaica*, as if a defeated Army should have the impudence to brag afterwards of the Victory, because though they had fled out of
20 the Field of Battel, yet they quartered that night in a Village of the Enemies. The War with *Spain* was a necessary consequence of this folly, and how much we have gotten by it, let the Custom-house and Exchange inform you; and if he please to boast of the taking a part of the Silver-Fleet, (which indeed no body else but he, who was the sole gainer, has cause to do) at least let him give leave to the rest of the Nation (which is the onely loser) to complain of the losse of twelve hundred of her ships. But because it
30 may here perhaps be answered, that his successes nearer home have extinguisht the disgrace of so remote miscariages, and that *Dunkirk* ought more to be

remembred for his glory, than *St. Domingo* for his disadvantage ; I must confesse, as to the honour of the *English* courage, that they were not wanting upon that occasion (excepting onely the fault of serving at least indirectly against their Master) to the upholding of the renown of their warlike Ancestors. But for his particular share of it, who sat still at home, and exposed them so frankly abroad, I can onely say, that for lesse money than he in the short time of his reign exacted from his fellow Subjects, some of our 10 former Princes (with the daily hazard of their own persons) have added to the Dominion of *England* not onely one Town, but even a greater Kingdom than it self. And this beeing all considerable as concerning his enterprises abroad, let us examine in the next place, how much wee owe him for his Justice and good Government at home. And first he found the Commonwealth (as they then called it) in a ready stock of about 800^m pounds, he left the Commonwealth (as he had the impudent Raillery still to call 20 it) some two Millions and an half in debt. He found our Trade very much decayd indeed, in comparison of the golden times of our late Princes ; he left it as much again more decayd than he found it ; and yet not onely no Prince in *England*, but no Tyrant in the World ever sought out more base or infamous means to raise moneys. I shall onely instance in one that he put in practice, and another that he attempted, but was frighted from the execution (even He) by the infamy of it. That which he put in prac- 30 tice was Decimation ; which was the most impudent breach of all publick Faith that the whole Nation

had given, and all private capitulations which himself had made, as the Nations General and Servant, that can be found out (I believe) in all History from any of the most barbarous Generals of the most barbarous People. Which because it has been most excellently and most largely layd open by a whole Book written upon that Subject, I shall onely desire you here to remember the thing in general, and to be pleased to look upon that Author when you would recollect
 10 all the particulars and circumstances of the iniquity. The other design of raising a present sum of Money, which he violently persued, but durst not put in execution, was by the calling in and establishment of the *Jews* at *London*; from which he was rebuted by the universal outcry of the Divines, and even of the Citizens too, who took it ill that a considerable number at least amongst themselves were not thought
Jews enough by their own *Herod*. And for this design, they say, he invented (Oh Antichrist! Πονηρόν
 20 and ὁ Πονηρός!) to sell *St. Pauls* to them for a Synagogue, if their purses and devotions could have reacht to the purchase. And this indeed if he had done onely to reward that Nation which had given the first noble example of crucifying their King, it might have had some appearance of Gratitude, but he did it onely for love of their Mammon; and would have sold afterwards for as much more *St. Peters* (even at his own *Westminster*) to the Turks for a *Mosquito*. Such was his extraordinary Piety to God, that he
 30 desired he might be worshipped in all manners, excepting onely that heathenish way of the Common-

Prayer Book. But what do I speak of his wicked inventions for getting money? when every penny that for almost five years he took every day from every man living in *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, was as much Robbery as if it had been taken by a Thief upon the High-ways. Was it not so? or can any man think that *Cromwell* with the assistance of his Forces and Mosse Troopers, had more right to the command of all mens purses, than he might have had to any ones whom he had met and been ¹⁰ too strong for upon a Road? and yet when this came in the case of Mr. *Coney*, to be disputed by a legal tryal, he (which was the highest act of Tyranny that ever was seen in *England*) not onely discouraged and threatned, but violently imprisoned the Councel of the Plaintiff; that is, he shut up the Law it self close Prisoner, that no man might have relief from, or accesse to it. And it ought to be remembred, that this was done by those men, who a few years before had so bitterly decried, and openly opposed the Kings ²⁰ regular and formal way of proceeding in the trial of a little Ship-money. But though we lost the benefit of our old Courts of Justice, it cannot be denyed that he set up new ones; and such they were, that as no virtuous Prince before would, so no ill one durst erect. What? have we lived so many hundred years under such a form of Justice as has been able regularly to punish all men that offended against it, and is it so deficient just now, that we must seek out new wayes how to proceed against offenders? The reason ³⁰ which can onely be given in nature for a necessity of this, is, because those things are now made Crimes,

which were never esteemed so in former Ages ; and there must needs be a new Court set up to punish that, which all the old ones were bound to protect and reward. But I am so far from Declaming (as you call it) against these wickednesses (which if I should undertake to do, I should never get to the Peroration) that you see I only give a hint of some few, and passe over the rest as things that are too many to be numbred, and must onely be weighed in
10 grosse. Let any man show me (for though I pretend not to much reading, I will defy him in all History) let any man show me (I say) an Example of any Nation in the World (though much greater than ours) where there have in the space of four years been made so many Prisoners onely out of the endlesse Jealousies of one Tyrants guilty Imagination. I grant you that *Marius* and *Sylla*, and the accursed Triumvirate after them, put more People to death, but the reason I think partly was, because in those
20 times that had a mixture of some honour with their madnesse, they thought it a more civil revenge against a *Roman* to take away his Life, than to take away his Liberty. But truly in the point of murder too, we have little reason to think that our late Tyranny has been deficient to the examples that have ever been set it in other Countries. Our Judges and our Courts of Justice have not been idle ; And to omit the whole reign of our late King (till the beginning of the War) in which no drop of blood was ever drawn
30 but from two or three Ears, I think the longest time of our worst Princes scarce saw many more Executions than the short one of our blest Reformer. And

wee saw, and smelt in our open streets, (as I markt to you at first) the broyling of humane bowels as a Burnt Offering of a sweet Savour to our Idol ; but all murdering, and all torturing (though after the subtilest invention of his Predecessors of *Sicilie*) is more Humane and more supportable, than his selling of Christians, Englishmen, Gentlemen ; his selling of them (oh monstrous ! oh incredible !) to be Slaves in *America*. If his whole life could bee reproacht with no other action, yet this alone would weigh down all ¹⁰ the multiplicity of Crimes in any of our Tyrants ; and I dare onely touch, without stopping or insisting upon so insolent and so execrable a cruelty, for fear of falling into so violent (though a just) Passion, as would make me exceed that temper and moderation which I resolve to observe in this Discourse with you. These are great calamities ; but even these are not the most insupportable that wee have endured ; for so it is, that the scorn, and mockery, and insultings of an Enemy, are more painfull than the deepest ²⁰ wounds of his serious fury. This Man was wanton and merry (unwittily and ungracefully merry) with our sufferings ; Hee loved to say and do sencelesse and fantastical things, onely to shew his power of doing or saying any thing. It would ill befit mine, or any civil Mouth, to repeat those words which hee spoke concerning the most sacred of our *English* Laws, the Petition of Right, and *Magna Charta*. To day you should see him ranting so wildly, that no body durst come near him, the morrow flinging of ³⁰ cushions, and playing at Snow-balls with his Servants. This moneth hee assembles a Parliament, and pro-

fesses himself with humble tears to be onely their
Servant and their Minister; the next moneth hee
swears By the Living God, that hee will turn them
out of dores, and hee does so, in his princely way of
threatning(,) bidding them, Turn the buckles of their
girdles behind them. The Representative of a whole,
nay of three whole Nations, was in his esteem so
contemptible a meeting, that hee thought the affront-
ing and expelling of them to be a thing of so little
10 consequence, as not to deserve that hee should advise
with any mortal man about it. What shall wee call
this? Boldnesse, or Brutishnesse? Rashnesse, or
Phrensie? there is no name can come up to it, and
therefore wee must leave it without one. Now a Par-
liament must bee chosen in the new manner, next
time in the old form, but all cashiered still after the
newest mode. Now he will govern by Major Generals,
now by One House, now by Another House, now by
No House; now the freak takes him, and hee makes
20 seventy Peers of the Land at one clap (*Extempore*,
and *stans pede in uno*) and to manifest the absolute
power of the Potter, hee chooses not onely the worst
Clay he could find, but picks up even the Durt and
Mire, to form out of it his Vessels of Honour. It
was said antiently of Fortune, that when she had
a mind to be merry and to divert her self, she was
wont to raise up such kind of people to the highest
Dignities. This Son of fortune, *Cromwell* (who was
himself one of the primest of her Jests) found out
30 the true haut goust of this pleasure, and rejoyced in
the extravagance of his wayes as the fullest demon-
stration of his uncontroulable Soverainty. Good

God! what have we seen? and what have we suffer'd? what do all these actions signifie, what do they say aloud to the whole Nation, but this (even as plainly as if it were proclaimed by Heralds through the streets of *London*) You are Slaves and Fools, and so Ile use you? These are briefly a part of those merits which you lament to have wanted the reward of more Kingdomes, and suppose that if he had lived longer he might have had them; Which I am so far from concurring to, that I believe his 10 seasonable dying to have been a greater good fortune to him than all the victories and prosperities of his Life. For he seemed evidently (methinks) to be near the end of his deceitfull Glories; his own Army grew at last as weary of him as the rest of the People; and I never past of late before his Palace (His, do I call it? I ask God and the King pardon) but I never past of late before Whitehall without reading upon the Gate of it, *Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin*. But it pleased God to take him from the ordinary 20 Courts of Men, and Juries of his Peers, to his own High Court of Justice, which being more mercifull than Ours below, there is a little room yet left for the hope of his friends, if he have any; though the outward unrepentance of his death affoord but small materials for the work of Charity, especially if he designed even then to Entail his own injustice upon his Children, and by it inextricable confusions and Civil Wars upon the Nation. But here's at last an end of him; And where's now the fruit of all that 30 bloud and calamity which his Ambition has cost the World? Where is it? Why, his Son (you'l say) has

the whole Crop; I doubt he will find it quickly Blasted; I have nothing to say against the Gentleman, or any living of his family, on the contrary I wish him better fortune than to have a long and unquiet possession of his Masters Inheritance. Whatsoever I have spoken against his Father, is that which I should have thought (though Decency perhaps might have hindred me from saying it) even against mine Own, if I had been so unhappy, as that Mine by the
10 same wayes should have left me Three Kingdoms.

Here I stopt; and my pretended Protector, who, I expected, should have been very angry, fell a laughing; it seems at the simplicity of my discourse, for thus he replied: You seem to pretend extremely to the old obsolete rules of Virtue and Conscience, which makes me doubt very much whether from this vast prospect of three Kingdoms you can show me any Acres of your own. But these are so farre from making you a Prince, that I am afraid your friends
20 will never have the contentment to see you so much as a Justice of Peace in your own Countrey. For this I perceive which you call Virtue, is nothing else but either the frowardnesse of a Cynick, or the lazinessse of an Epicurean. I am glad you allow me at least Artfull Dissimulation, and unwearied Diligence in my *Hero*, and I assure you that he whose Life is constantly drawn by those two, shall never be misled out of the way of Greatnesse. But I see you are a Pedant, and Platonical Statesman, a Theoretical
30 Commonwealths man, an Utopian Dreamer. Was ever Riches gotten by your Golden Mediocrities? or the Supreme place attained to by Virtues that must

not stir out the middle? Do you study *Aristotles* Politiques, and write, if you please, Comments upon them, and let another but practise *Matchavil*, and let us see then which of you two will come to the greatest preferments. If the desire of rule and superiority be a Virtue (as sure I am it is more imprinted in human Nature than any of your Lethargical Morals; and what is the Virtue of any Creature but the exercise of those powers and inclinations which God has infused into it?) if that (I say) be Virtue, we ought not to esteem any thing Vice, which is the most proper, if not the onely means of attaining of it.

It is a Truth so certain, and so clear,
 That to the first-born Man it did appear;
 Did not, the mighty Heir, the noble *Cain*,
 By the fresh Laws of Nature taught, disdain
 That (though a Brother) any one should be
 A greater Favourite to God than He?
 He strook him down; and, so (said He) so fell
 The sheep which thou didst Sacrifice so well. 20
 Since all the fullest Sheaves which I could bring,
 Since all were Blasted in the Offering,
 Lest God should my next Victime too despise,
 The acceptable Priest I'll Sacrifice.
 Hence Coward Fears; for the first Blood so spilt
 As a Reward, He the first Citie built.
 'Twas a beginning generous and high,
 Fit for a Grand-Child of the Deity.
 So well advanced, 'twas pity there he staid;
 One step of Glory more he should have made, 30

And to the utmost bounds of Greatnesse gone ;
Had *Adam* too been kill'd, He might have Reign'd
Alone.

One Brother's death what do I mean to name,
A small Oblation to Revenge and Fame ?
The mighty-soul'd *Abimelec* to shew
What for high place a higher Spirit can do,
A Hecatomb almost of Brethren slew,
And seventy times in nearest bloud he dy'd
10 (To make it hold) his Royal Purple Pride.
Why do I name the Lordly Creature Man ?
The weak, the mild, the Coward Woman, can,
When to a Crown she cuts her sacred way,
All that oppose with Manlike courage slay.
So *Athaliah*, when she saw her Son,
And with his Life her dearer Greatnesse gone,
With a Majestique fury slaughter'd all
Whom high birth might to high pretences call.
Since he was dead who all her power sustain'd,
20 Resolv'd to reign alone ; Resolv'd, and Reign'd.
In vain her Sex, in vain the Laws withstood,
In vain the sacred plea of *David's* Bloud,
A noble, and a bold contention, Shee,
(One Woman) undertook with Destiny.
She to pluck down, Destiny to uphold
(Oblig'd by holy Oracles of old)
The great *Jessæan* race on *Juda's* Throne ;
Till 'twas at last an equal Wager grown,
Scarce Fate, with much adoe, the Better got by
30 One.
Tell me not she her self at last was slain ;
Did she not first seven years (a Life-time) reign ?

Seven royal years t' a publick spirit will seem
 More than the private Life of a *Methusalem*.
 'Tis Godlike to be Great ; and as they say
 A thousand years to God are but a Day :
 So to a Man, when once a Crown he wears,
 The Coronation Day's more than a Thousand years.

He would have gone on I perceiv'd in his blas-
 phemies, but that by Gods Grace I became so bold as
 thus to interrupt him. I understand now perfectly
 (which I guest at long before) what kind of Angel and 10
 Protector you are ; and though your stile in verse be
 very much mended since you were wont to deliver
 Oracles, yet your Doctrine is much worse than ever
 you had formerly (that I heard of) the face to pub-
 lish ; whether your long Practice with mankind has
 encreast and improved your malice, or whether you
 think Us in this age to be grown so impudently
 wicked, that there needs no more art or disguises to
 draw us to your party. My Dominion (said he hastily,
 and with a dreadfull furious look) is so great in this 20
 World, and I am so powerful a Monarch of it, that
 I need not be ashamed that you should know me ;
 and that you may see I know you too, I know you to
 bee an obstinate and inveterate Malignant ; and for
 that reason I shall take you along with mee to the
 next Garrison of Ours ; from whence you shall go to
 the Tower, and from thence to the Court of Justice,
 and from thence you know whither. I was almost in
 the very pounces of the great Bird of prey,

When, Lo, ere the last words were fully spoke, 30
 From a fair clowd, which rather ope'd, than broke,

- A flash of Light, rather than Lightning came,
 So swift, and yet so gentle was the Flame.
 Upon it rode, and in his full Career,
 Seem'd to my Eyes no sooner There than Here,
 The comelyest Youth of all th' Angelique race ;
 Lovely his shape, ineffable his Face.
 The Frowns with which hee strook the trembling
 Fiend,
 All Smiles of Humane Beauty did transcend.
- 10 His Beams of Locks fell part dishevel'd down,
 Part upwards curld, and form'd a nat'ral Crown,
 Such as the British Monarchs us'd to wear ;
 If Gold might be compar'd with Angels Hair.
 His Coat and flowing Mantle were so bright,
 They seem'd both made of woven Silver Light,
 Acrosse his breast an azure Ruban went,
 At which a Medal hung that did present
 In wondrous, living figures to the sight,
 The mystick Champion's, and old Dragon's fight,
- 20 And from his Mantles side there shone afar,
 A fixt, and, I believe, a Real Star.
 In his fair hand (what need was there of more ?)
 No Arms but th' *English* bloody Crosse he bore,
 Which when hee towards th' affrighted Tyrant bent,
 And some few words pronounc'd (but what they
 ment,
 Or were, could not, alas, by me be known,
 Onely I well perceiv'd Jesus was one)
 He trembled, and he ro , and fled away ;
- 30 Mad to quit thus his more than hop'd-for prey.
 Such rage inflames the Wolves wild heart and eyes
 (Rob'd as he thinks unjust(1)y of his prize)

Whom unawares the Shepherd spies, and draws
The bleating Lamb from out his ravenous jaws.
The Shepherd fain himself would he assail,
But Fear above his Hunger does prevail,
He knows his Foe too strong, and must bee gone ;
Hee grins as hee looks back, and howls as hee goes
on.

FINIS.

PREFACE TO CUTTER OF COLEMAN STREET

A Comedy, called the *Guardian*, and made by me when I was very Young, was Acted formerly at *Cambridge*, and several times after privately during the troubles, as I am told, with good approbation, as it has been lately too at *Dublin*. There being many things in it which I disliked, and finding my self for some dayes idle, and alone in the Countrey, I fell upon the
10 changing of it almost wholly, as now it is, and as it was play'd since at his Royal Highness's Theatre under this New name. It met at the first representation with no favourable reception, and I think there was something of Faction against it, by the early appearance of some mens disapprobation before they had seen enough of it to build their dislike upon their Judgment. Afterwards it got some ground, and found Friends as well as Adversarys. In which condition I should willingly let it dye, if the main imputations
20 under which it suffered, had been shot only against my Wit or Art in these matters, and not directed against the tenderest parts of human reputation, good Nature, good Manners, and Piety it self. The first clamour which some malicious persons raised, and made a great noise with, was, That it was a piece intended for abuse and Satyre against the Kings party. Good God! Against the Kings party? After

having served it twenty years during all the time of their misfortunes and afflictions, I must be a very rash and imprudent person if I chose out that of their Restitution to begin a Quarrel with them. I must be too much a Madman to be trusted with such an Edg'd Tool as Comedy. But first, why should either the whole party (as it was once distinguish'd by that name, which I hope is abolish'd now by Universal Loyalty) or any man of virtue or honour in it, believe themselves injured or at all concerned, by the representation of the faults and follies of a few who in the General division of the Nation had crowded in among them? In all mixt numbers (which is the case of Parties) nay, in the most entire and continued Bodies there are often some degenerate and corrupted parts, which may be cast away from that, and even cut off from this Unity, without any infection of scandal to the remaining Body. The Church of *Rome* with all her arrogance, and her wide pretences of certainty in all Truths, and exemption from all Errors, does not clap on this enchanted Armour of Infallibility upon all her particular Subjects, nor is offended at the reproof even of her greatest Doctors. We are not, I hope, become such Puritans our selves as to assume the Name of the Congregation of the Spotless. It is hard for any Party to be so Ill as that no Good, Impossible to be so Good as that no Ill should be found among them. And it has been the perpetual privilege of Satyre and Comedy to pluck their vices and follies though not their Persons out of the Sanctuary of any Title. A Cowardly ranting Souldier, an Ignorant Charlatanical Doctor, a foolish Cheating Lawyer, a

silly Pedantical Scholar, have alwayes been, and still are the Principal Subjects of all Comedy, without any scandal given to those Honourable Professions, or ever taken by their severest Professors ; And, if any good Physician or Divine should be offended with me here for inveighing against a Quack, or for finding Deacon *Soaker* too often in the Buttery, my respect and reverence to their callings would make me troubled at their displeasure, but I could not abstain from
10 taking them for very Cholerique and Quarrelsome persons. What does this therefore amount to, if it were true which is objected ? But it is far from being so ; for the representation of two Sharks about the Town (fellows merry and Ingenious enough, and therefore admitted into better companyes than they deserve, yet withall too very scoundrels, which is no unfrequent Character at *London*) the representation I say of these as Pretended Officers of the Royal Army, was made for no other purpose but to show
20 the World, that the vices and extravagancies imputed vulgarly to the Cavaliers, were really committed by Aliens who only usurped that name, and endeavoured to cover the reproach of their Indigency or Infamy of their Actions with so honourable a Title. So that the business was not here to correct or cut off any natural branches, though never so corrupted or Luxuriant, but to separate and cast away that vermine which by sticking so close to them had done great and considerable prejudice both to the Beauty and
30 Fertility of the Tree ; And this is as plainly said, and as often inculcated as if one should write round about

1, 2 have . . . Comedy,] hav, . . . Comedy e 1663, the words coming at the end of the lines, so that the e and the comma are transposed

a Signe, This is a Dog, this is a Dog, out of over much caution lest some might happen to mistake it for a Lyon, Therefore when this Calumny could not hold (for the case is cleer, and will take no colour) Some others sought out a subtiler hint to traduce me upon the same score, and were angry that the person whom I made a true Gentleman, and one both of considerable Quality and Sufferings in the Royal party, should not have a fair and noble Character throughout, but should submit in his great extremities 10 to wrong his Niece for his own Relief. This is a refined exception, such as I little foresaw, nor should with the dulness of my usual Charity, have found out against another man in twenty years. The truth is, I did not intend the Character of a *Hero*, one of exemplary virtue, and as *Homer* often terms such men, Unblameable, but an ordinary jovial Gentleman, commonly called a Good Fellow, one not so conscientious as to sterve rather than do the least Injury, and yet endowed with so much sense of Honour as to refuse 20 when that necessity was removed, the gain of five thousand pounds which he might have taken from his Niece by the rigour of a Forfeiture; And let the frankness of this latter generosity so expiate for the former frailty, as may make us not ashamed of his Company, for if his true Metal be but equal to his Alloy, it will not indeed render him one of the Finest sorts of men, but it will make him Current, for ought I know, in any party that ever yet was in the World. If you be to choose parts for a Comedy 30 out of any noble or elevated rank of persons, the most proper for that work are the worst of that kind. Comedy is humble of her Nature, and has always

been bred low, so that she knows not how to behave her self with the great or the accomplisht. She does not pretend to the brisk and bold Qualities of Wine, but to the Stomachal Acidity of Vinegar, and therefore is best placed among that sort of people which the *Romans* call The Lees of *Romulus*. If I had designed here the celebration of the Virtues of our Friends, I would have made the Scene nobler where I intended to erect their Statues. They should have
10 stood in Odes, and Tragedies, and Epique Poems, (neither have I totally omitted those greater testimonies of my esteem of them) *Sed nunc non erat his Locus*, &c. And so much for this little spiny objection which a man cannot see without a Magnifying Glass. The next is enough to knock a man down, and accuses me of no less than Prophaness. Prophane, to deride the Hypocrisie of those men whose skulls are not yet bare upon the Gates since the publique and just punishment of it? But there is
20 some imitation of Scripture Phrases; God forbid; There is no representation of the true face of Scripture, but only of that Vizard which these Hypocrites (that is, by interpretation Actors with a Vizard) draw upon it. Is it Prophane to speak of *Harrisons* return to Life again, when some of his friends really profest their belief of it, and he himself had been said to promise it? A man may be so imprudently scrupulous as to find prophaness in any thing either said or written by applying it under some similitude or other
30 to some expressions in Scripture. This nicety is both vain and endless. But I call God to witness, that rather than one tittle should remain among all my

writings which according to my severest judgment should be found guilty of the crime objected, I would my self burn and extinguish them all together. Nothing is so detestably lewd and rechless as the derision of things sacred, and would be in me more unpardonable than any man else, who have endeavoured to root out the ordinary weeds of Poetry, and to plant it almost wholly with Divinity. I am so far from allowing any loose or irreverent expressions in matters of that Religion which I believe, that I am very tender ¹⁰ in this point even for the grossest errors of Conscientious persons. They are the properest object (me thinks) both of our Pitty and Charity too ; They are the innocent and white Sectaries, in comparison of another kind who engraft Pride upon Ignorance, Tyranny upon Liberty, and upon all their Heresies, Treason and Rebellion. These are Principles so destructive to the Peace and Society of Mankind that they deserve to be persued by our serious Hatred, and the putting a Mask of Sanctity upon such Devils ²⁰ is so Ridiculous, that it ought to be exposed to contempt and laughter. They are indeed Prophane, who counterfeit the softness of the voyce of Holiness to disguise the roughness of the hands of Impiety, and not they who with reverence to the thing which the others dissemble, deride nothing but their Dissimulation. If some piece of an admirable Artist should be ill Copied even to ridiculousness by an ignorant hand, and another Painter should undertake to draw that Copy, and make it yet more ridiculous, to shew appar- ³⁰ ently the difference of the two works, and deformity of the latter, will not every man see plainly that the

abuse is intended to the foolish Imitation, and not to the Excellent Original? I might say much more to confute and confound this very false and malicious accusation, but this is enough I hope to clear the matter, and is I am afraid too much for a Preface to a work of so little consideration. As for all other objections which have been or may be made against the Invention or Elocution, or any thing else which comes under the Critical Jurisdiction, let it stand or
10 fall as it can answer for it self, for I do not lay the great stress of my Reputation upon a Structure of this Nature, much less upon the slight Reparations only of an Old and unfashionable Building. There is no Writer but may fail sometimes in point of Wit, and it is no less frequent for the Auditors to fail in point of Judgment. I perceive plainly by dayly experience that Fortune is Mistris of the Theatre, as *Tully* says it is of all popular Assemblies. No man can tell sometimes from whence the Invisible winds
20 arise that move them. There are a multitude of people who are truly and onely Spectators at a play, without any use of their Understanding, and these carry it sometimes by the strength of their Number. There are others who use their Understanding too much, who think it a sign of weakness or stupidity to let anything pass by them unattaqued, and that the Honour of their Judgment (as some Brutals imagine of their Courage) consists in Quarrelling with every thing. We are therefore wonderfull wise men, and
30 have a fine business of it, we who spend our time in Poetry. I do sometimes laugh, and am often angry with my self when I think on it, and if I had a Son

inclined by Nature to the same folly, I believe I should bind him from it, by the strictest conjurations of a paternal Blessing. For what can be more ridiculous than to labour to give men delight, whilst they labour on their part more earnestly to take offence? to expose ones self voluntarily and frankly to all the dangers of that narrow passage to unprofitable Fame, which is defended by rude multitudes of the Ignorant, and by armed Troops of the Malitious? If we do ill many discover it and all despise us, if we do well but few ¹⁰ men find it out, and fewer entertain it kindly. If we commit errors there is no pardon, if we could do wonders there would be but little thanks, and that too extorted from unwilling Givers. But some perhaps may say, Was it not alwayes thus? Do you expect a particular privilege that was never yet enjoyed by any Poet? were the ancient *Gracian*, or noble *Roman* Authors, was *Virgil* himself exempt from this Passibility, *Qui melior multis quam tu fuit, Improbe, rebus*, Who was in many things thy better ²⁰ far, Thou impudent Pretender? As was said by *Lucretius* to a person who took it ill that he was to Dye, though he had seen so many do it before him who better deserved Immortality; and this is to repine at the natural condition of a Living Poet, as he did at that of a Living Mortal. I do not only acknowledge the Præ-eminence of *Virgil* (whose Footsteps I adore) but submit to many of his *Roman* Brethren, and I confess that even they in their own times were not secure from the assaults of Detraction ³⁰

9 Troops] roops 166j. 14 unwilling] u willing 166j.

16 yet] y t 166j. 21 Pretender] Pre ender 166j.

(though *Horace* brags at last, *Jam dente minus mordeor invido*) but then the Barkings of a few were drown'd in the Applause of all the rest of the World, and the Poison of their Bitings extinguisht by the Antidote of great rewards, and great encouragements, which is a way of curing now out of use, and I really profess that I neither expect, nor think I deserve it. Indolency would serve my turn instead of Pleasure ; But the case is not so well ; for though I comfort my
10 self with some assurance of the favour and affection of very many candid and good natured (and yet too judicious and even Critical) persons, yet this I do affirm, that from all which I have written I never received the least benefit, or the least advantage, but on the contrary have felt sometimes the effects of Malice and Misfortune.

SEVERAL DISCOURSES BY WAY OF ESSAYS, IN VERSE AND PROSE

I. *Of Liberty.*

THE Liberty of a people consists in being governed by Laws which they have made themselves, under whatsoever form it be of Government. The Liberty of a private man in being Master of his own Time and Actions, as far as may consist with the Laws of God and of his Country. Of this latter only we are ¹⁰ here to discourse, and to enquire what estate of Life does best seat us in the possession of it. This Liberty of our own Actions is such a Fundamental Priviledge of human Nature, that God himself notwithstanding all his infinite power and right over us, permits us to enjoy it, and that too after a Forfeiture made by the Rebellion of *Adam*. He takes so much care for the intire preservation of it to us, that he suffers neither his Providence nor Eternal Decree to break or infringe it. Now for our Time, the same God, to ²⁰ whom we are but Tenants-at-will for the whole, requires but the seventh part to be paid to him as a small Quit-Rent in acknowledgment of his Title. It is man only that has the impudence to demand our whole time, though he neither gave it, nor can restore

it, nor is able to pay any considerable value for the least part of it. This Birth-right of mankind above all other creatures, some are forced by hunger to sell, like *Esau*, for Bread and Broth, but the greatest part of men make such a Bargain for the delivery up of themselves, as *Thamar* did with *Judah*, instead of a Kid, the necessary provisions for humane life, they are contented to do it for Rings and Bracelets. The great dealers in this world may be divided into the
 10 Ambitious, the Covetous, and the Voluptuous, and that all these men sell themselves to be slaves, though to the vulgar it may seem a Stoical Paradox, will appear to the wise so plain and obvious, that they will scarce think it deserves the labour of Argumentation. Let us first consider the Ambitious, and those both in their progress to Greatness, and after the attaining of it. There is nothing truer than what *Salust* saies, *Dominationis in alios servitium suum Mercedem dant*, They are content to pay so great a price as their own
 10 Servitude to purchase the domination over others. The first thing they must resolve to sacrifice, is their whole time, they must never stop, nor ever turn aside whilst they are in the race of Glory, no not like *Atalanta* for Golden Apples. Neither indeed can a man stop himself if he would when he's in this Career. *Fertur equis Auriga neque audit Currus habenas*.

Pray, let us but consider a little, what mean servile things men do for this Imaginary Food. We cannot fetch a greater example of it, then from the chief men
 30 of that Nation which boasted most of Liberty. To what pitiful baseness did the noblest *Romans* submit

themselves for the obtaining of a Prætorship, or the Consular dignity: they put on the Habit of Suppliants, and ran about on foot, and in dirt, through all the Tribes to beg voices, they flattered the poorest Artisans, and carried a *Nomenclator* with them, to whisper in their ear every mans name, least they should mistake it in their salutations: they shook the hand, and kist the cheek of every popular Tradesman; they stood all day at every Market in the publick places to shew and ingratiate themselves to ¹⁰ the rout; they imploy'd all their friends to sollicite for them, they kept open Tables in every street, they distributed wine and bread and money, even to the vilest of the people. *En Romanos rerum Dominos! Behold the Masters of the World begging from door to door.* This particular humble way to Greatness is now out of fashion, but yet every Ambitious person is still in some sort a *Roman Candidate*. He must feast and bribe, and attend and flatter, and adore many Beasts, though not the Beast with many heads. ²⁰ *Catiline* who was so proud that he could not content himself with a less power than *Sylla's*, was yet so humble for the attaining of it, as to make himself the most contemptible of all Servants, to be a publique Bawd, to provide whores, and something worse, for all the young Gentlemen of *Rome*, whose hot lusts and courages, and heads he thought he might make use of. And since I happen here to propose *Catiline* for my instance (though there be thousand of Examples for the same thing) give me leave to transcribe the ³⁰ Character which *Cicero* gives of this noble Slave,

because it is a general description of all Ambitious men, and which *Machiavil* perhaps would say ought to be the rule of their life and actions. This man (saies he, as most of you may well remember) *Orat. pro M. Caelio.* had many artificial touches and stroakes that look'd like the beauty of great Virtues, his intimate conversation was with the worst of men, and yet he seem'd to be an Admirer and Lover of the best, he was furnish't with all the nets of Lust and Luxury, 10 and yet wanted not the Arms of Labour and Industry: neither do I believe that there was ever any monster in nature, composed out of so many different and disagreeing parts. Who more acceptable, sometimes, to the most honorable persons, who more a favourite to the most Infamous? who, sometimes, appear'd a braver Champion, who at other times, a bolder Enemy to his Country? who more dissolute in his pleasures, who more patient in his toiles? who more rapacious in robbing, who more profuse in giving? 20 Above all things, this was remarkable and admirable in him, The arts he had to acquire the good opinion and kindness of all sorts of men, to retain it with great complaisance, to communicate all things to them, to watch and serve all the occasions of their fortune, both with his money and his interest, and his industry; and if need were, not by sticking at any wickedness whatsoever that might be useful to them, to bend and turn about his own Nature and laveer with every wind, to live severely with the melan- 30 choly, merrily with the pleasant, gravely with the aged, wantonly with the young, desperately with the bold, and debauchedly with the luxurious: with this

variety and multiplicity of his nature, as he had made a collection of friendships with all the most wicked and reckless of all Nations, so by the artificial simulation of some virtues, he made a shift to ensnare some honest and eminent persons into his familiarity; neither could so vast a design as the destruction of this Empire have been undertaken by him, if the immanity of so many vices had not been covered and disguised by the appearances of some excellent qualities.

10

I see, methinks, the Character of an *Anti-Paul*, who became all things to all men, that he might destroy all; who only wanted the assistance of Fortune to have been as great as his Friend *Cæsar* was a little after him. And the ways of *Cæsar* to compass the same ends (I mean till the Civil War, which was but another manner of setting his Country on Fire) were not unlike these, though he used afterward his unjust Dominion with more moderation than I think the other would have done. *Salust* therefore who was ²⁰ well acquainted with them both, and with many such like Gentlemen of his time, saies, That it is the nature of Ambition (*Ambitio multos mortales falsos fieri coegit &c.*) to make men Lyers *De Bel. Catil.* and Cheaters, to hide the Truth in their breasts, and show, like jugglers, another thing in their Mouths, to cut all fri(e)ndships and enmities to the measure of their own Interest, and to make a good Countenance without the help of good will. And can there be Freedom with this perpetual constraint? What is it ³⁰ but a kind of Rack that forces men to say what they have no mind to? I have wondred at the extrava-

gant and barbarous stratagem of *Zopyrus*, and more at the praises which I finde of so deformed an action ; who though he was one of the seven *Grande*es of *Persia*, and the Son of *Megabyzus*, who had freed before his Country from an ignoble Servitude, slit his own Nose and Lips, cut off his own Ears, scourged and wounded his whole body, that he might, under pretence of having been mangled so inhumanly by *Darius*, be received into *Babylon* (then beseiged by
 10 the *Persians*) and get into the command of it by the recommendation of so cruel a Sufferance, and their hopes of his endeavouring to revenge it. It is great pity the *Babylonians* suspected not his falshood, that they might have cut off his hands too, and whipt him back again. But the design succeeded, he betrayed the City, and was made Governour of it. What brutish master ever punished his offending Slave with so little mercy as Ambition did this *Zopyrus*? and yet how many are there in all nations who
 20 imitate him in some degree for a less reward? who though they indure not so much corporal pain for a small preferment or some honour (as they call it) yet stick not to commit actions, by which they are more shamefully and more lastingly stigmatized? But you may say, Though these be the most ordinary and open waies to greatness, yet there are narrow, thorney, and little-trodden paths too, through which some men finde a passage by vertuous industry. I grant, sometimes they may ; but then that Industry

1 *Zopyrus*] *Zopirus* 1668.

4 *Megabyzus*] *Megabises* 1668.

18 *Zopyrus*] *Zopirus* 1668.

must be such, as cannot consist with Liberty, though it may with Honesty.

Thou'rt careful, frugal, painful; we commend a Servant so, but not a Freind.

Well then, we must acknowledg the toil and drudgery which we are forced to endure in this Ascent, but we are Epicures and Lords when once we are gotten up into the High Places. This is but a short Apprentiship after which we are made free of a Royal Company. If we fall in love with 10 any beautilous woman, we must be content that they should be our Mistresses whilst we woo them, as soon as we are wedded and enjoy, 'tis we shall be the Masters.

I am willing to stick to this similitude in the case of Greatness; we enter into the Bonds of it, like those of Matrimony; we are bewicht with the outward and painted Beauty, and take it for Better or worse, before we know its true nature and interiour Inco(n)veniences. A great Fortune (saies *Seneca*) 20 is a great servitude, But many are of that Opinion which *Brutus* imputes (I hope untruly) even to that Patron of Liberty, his Friend *Cicero*, We fear (saies he to *Atticus*) Death, and Banishment, and Poverty, a greal deal too much. *Cicero*, I am afraid, thinks these to be the worst of evils, and if he have but some persons, from whom he can obtain what he has a mind to, and others who will flatter and worship him, seems to be well enough contented with an honorable servitude, if any thing indeed ought 30 to be called honorable, in so base and contumelious

a condition. This was spoken as became the bravest man who was ever born in the bravest Commonwealth: But with us generally, no condition passes for servitude, that is accompanied with great riches, with honors, and with the service of many Inferiours. This is but a Deception of the sight through a false medium, for if a Groom serve a Gentleman in his chamber, that Gentleman a Lord, and that Lord a Prince; The Groom, the Gentleman, and the Lord,
 10 are as much servants one as the other: the circumstantial difference of the ones getting only his Bread and wages, the second a plentiful, and the third a superfluous estate, is no more intrinsical to this matter then the difference between a plain, a rich and <a> gaudy Livery. I do not say, That he who sells his whole time, and his own will for one hundred thousand, is not a wiser Merchant than he who does it for one hundred pounds, but I will swear, they are both Merchants, and that he is happier than
 20 both, who can live contentedly without selling that estate to which he was born. But this Dependence upon Superiours is but one chain of the Lovers of Power, *Amatorem Trecentæ Pirithoum cohibent catenæ*. Let's begin with him by break of day: For by that time he's besieged by two or three hundred Suitors; and the Hall and Antichambers (all the Outworks) possest by the Enemy as soon as his Chamber opens, they are ready to break into that, or to corrupt the Guards, for entrance. This is so
 30 essential a part of Greatness, that whosoever is without it, looks like a Fallen Favorite, like a person

disgraced, and condemned to do what he please all the morning. There are some who rather than want this, are contented to have their rooms fill'd up every day with murmuring and cursing Creditors, and to charge bravely through a Body of them to get to their Coach. Now I would fain know which is the worst duty, that of any one particular person who waits to speak with the Great man, or the Great mans, who waits every day to speak with all the company. *Aliena negotia centum Per caput & circum* 10 *saliunt latus*, A hundred businesses of other men (many unjust and most impertinent) fly continually about his Head and Ears, and strike him in the Face like Dorres; Let's contemplate him a little at another special Scene of Glory, and that is, his Table. Here he seems to be the Lord of all Nature: The Earth affords him her best Metals for his dishes, her best Vegetables and Animals for his food; the Air and Sea supply him with their choicest Birds and Fishes: and a great many men who look like 20 Masters, attend upon him, and yet when all this is done, even all this is but Table d'Hoste, 'Tis crowded with people for whom he cares not, with many Parasites, and some Spies, with the most burdensome sort of Guests, the Endeavourers to be witty.

But every body pays him great respect, every body commends his Meat, that is, his Mony; every body admires the exquisite dressing & ordering of it, that is, his Clark of the kitchen, or his Cook; every body loves his Hospitality, that is, his Vanity. 30 But I desire to know why the honest In-keeper who provides a publick Table for his Profit, should be

but of a mean profession; and he who does it for his Honour, a munificent Prince, You'll say, Because one sels, and the other gives: Nay, both sell, though for different things, the one for plain Money, the other for I know not what Jewels, whose value is in Custom and in Fancy. If then his Table be made a Snare (as the Scripture speakes) to his Liberty, where can he hope for Freedom, there is alwaies, and every where some restraint upon him.

10 He's guarded with Crowds, and shackled with Formalities. The half hat, the whole hat, the half smile, the whole smile, the nod, the embrace, the Positive parting with a little bow, the Comparative at the middle of the room, the Superlative at the door; and if the person be *Pan huper sebastus*, there's a *Hupersuperlative* ceremony then of conducting him to the bottome of the stairs, or to the very gate: as if there were such Rules set to these *Leviathans* as are to the Sea, *Hitherto shalt thou go, and no further.*

20 *Perditur hæc inter misero Lux,* Thus wretchedly the precious day is lost.

How many impertinent Letters and Visits must he receive, and sometimes answer both too as impertinently? he never sets his foot beyond his Threshold, unless, like a Funeral, he have a train to follow him, as if, like the dead Corps, he could not stir, till the Bearers were all ready. My life, (sayes *Horace*, speaking to one of these *Magnifico's*) is a great deal more easie and commodious then

30 thine, In that I can go into the Market and cheapen what I please without being wondred at; and take my Horse and ride as far as *Tarentum*, without

being mist. 'Tis an unpleasant constraint to be alwayes under the sight and observation, and censure of others ; as there may be Vanity in it, so methinks, there should be Vexation too of spirit : And I wonder how Princes can endure to have two or three hundred men stand gazing upon them whilst they are at dinner, and taking notice of every bit they eat. Nothing seems greater and more Lordly then the multitude of Domestick Servants ; but, even this too, if weighed seriously, is a piece of Servitude ;¹⁰ unless you will be a Servant to them (as many men are) the trouble and care of yours in the Government of them all, is much more then that of every one of them in their observance of you. I take the Profession of a School-Master to be one of the most usefull, and which ought to be of the most honourable in a Commonwealth, yet certainly all his Fasces and Tyrannical Authority over so many Boys, takes away his own Liberty more than theirs.

I do but slightly touch upon all these particulars²⁰ of the slavery of Greatness : I shake but a few of their outward Chains ; their Anger, Hatred, Jealousie, Fear, Envy, Grief, and all the *Etcætera* of their Passions, which are the secret, but constant Tyrants and Torturers of their life, I omit here, because though they be symptomes most frequent and violent in this Disease ; yet they are common too in some degree to the Epidemical Disease of Life it self. But, the Ambitious man, though he be so many wayes a slave (*O toties servus!*) yet he bears it bravely and heroic-³⁰ ally ; he struts and looks big upon the Stage ; he thinks himself a real Prince in his Masking Habit,

and deceives too all the foolish part of his Spectators: He's a slave in *Saturnalibus*. The Covetous Man is a downright Servant, a Draught Horse without Bells or Feathers; *ad Metalla damnatus*, a man condemned to work in Mines, which is the lowest and hardest condition of servitude; and, to encrease his Misery, a worker there for he knows not whom: He heapeth up Riches and knows not who shall enjoy them; 'Tis onely sure that he himself neither
 10 shall nor can enjoy them. He's an indigent needy slave, he will hardly allow himself Cloaths, and Board-Wages; *Vnciatim vix demenso de suo suum* *Phorm.*
defraudans Genium comparsit miser; He de- *Act. 1.*
 frauds not only other Men, but his own *Sect. 1.*
 Genius; He cheats himself for Mony. But the servile and miserable condition of this wretch is so apparent, that I leave it, as evident to every mans sight, as well as judgment. It seems a more difficult work to prove that the Voluptuous Man too is but a servant:
 20 What can be more the life of a Freeman, or as we say ordinarily, of a Gentleman, then to follow nothing but his own pleasures? Why, I'll tell you who is that true Freeman, and that true Gentleman; Not he who blindly follows all his pleasures (the very name of Follower is servile) but he who rationally guides them, and is not hindred by outward impediments in the conduct and enjoyment of them. If I want skill or force to restrain the Beast that I ride upon, though I bought it, and call it my own, yet in the truth of
 30 the matter I am at that time rather his Man, then he my Horse. The Voluptuous Men (whom we are fallen upon) may be divided, I think, into the Lustful

and Luxurious, who are both servants of the Belly ; the other whom we spoke of before, the Ambitious and the Covetous, were κακά θηρία, Evil wilde Beasts, these are ταῖς ἀργαῖς, slow Bellies, as our Translation renders it ; but the word Ἀργαῖ (which is a fantastical word, with two directly opposite significations) will bear as well the translation of Quick or Diligent Bellies, and both Interpretations may be applied to these men. *Metrodorus* said, That he had learnt Ἀληθῶς γαστρὶ χαρίζεσθαι, to give his Belly just thanks 10 for all his pleasures. This by the Calumniators of *Epicurus* his Philosophy was objected as one of the most scandalous of all their sayings ; which, according to my Charitable understanding may admit a very virtuous sence, which is, that he thanked his own Belly for that moderation in the customary appetites of it, which can only give a Man Liberty and Happiness in this World. Let this suffice at present to be spoken of those great Triumviri of the World ; the Covetous Man, who is a mean villain, like *Lepidus* ; 20 the Ambitious, who is a brave one, like *Octavius*, and the Voluptuous, who is a loose and debauched one, like *Mark Antony*. *Quisnam igitur Liber ?* *Hor. L. 2.* *Sapiens, sibi qui Imperiosus :* Not *Ocnomaus*, *Serm.* who commits himself wholly to a Chariotteeer *Sat. 7.* that may break his Neck, but the Man,

Who governs his own course with stedly hand,
 Who does Himself with Sovereign Pow'r command ;
 Whom neither Death, nor Poverty does fright,
 Who stands not aukwardly in his own light

30

Against the Truth : who can when Pleasures knock
Loud at his door, keep firm the bolt and lock.
Who can though Honour at his gate should stay
In all her Masking Cloaths, send her away,
And cry, be gone, I have no mind to Play.

This I confess is a Freeman : but it may be said,
That many persons are so shackled by their Fortune,
that they are hindred from enjoyment of that Manu-
mission which they have obtained from Virtue. I do
10 both understand, and in part feel the weight of this
objection : All I can Answer to it, is, That we must
get as much Liberty as we can, we must use our
utmost endeavours, and when all that is done, be
contented with the Length of that Line which is
allow'd us. If you ask me in what condition of Life
I think the most allow'd ; I should pitch upon that
sort of People whom King *James* was wont to call
the Happiest of our Nation, the Men placed in the
Countrey by their Fortune above an High-Constable,
20 and yet beneath the trouble of a Justice of Peace, in
a moderate plenty, without any just argument for the
desire of encreasing it by the care of many relations,
and with so much knowledge and love of Piety and
Philosophy (that is of the study of Gods Laws,
and of his Creatures) as may afford him matter
enough never to be Idle though without Business ;
and never to be Melancholy though without Sin or
Vanity.

I shall conclude this tedious Discourse with
30 a Prayer of mine in a Copy of Latin Verses, of which
I remember no other part, and (*pour faire bonne*

bouche) with some other Verses upon the same Subject.

*Magne Deus, quod ad has vitæ brevis attinet horas,
Da mihi, da Panem Libertatemque, nec ultra
Sollicitas effundo preces, siquid datur ultra
Accipiam gratus ; si non, Contentus abibo.*

For the few Houres of Life allotted me,
Give me (great God) but Bread and Liberty,
I'll beg no more ; if more thou'rt pleas'd to give,
I'll thankfully that Overplus receive : 10
If beyond this no more be freely sent,
I'll thank for this, and go away content.

Martial ? Lib. 2.

Vota tui breviter, &c.

Well then, Sir, you shall know how far extend
The Prayers and Hopes of your Poetick Friend(.)
He does not Palaces nor Manors crave,
Would be no Lord, but less a Lord would have(.)
The ground he holds, if he his own, can call,
He quarrels not with Heaven because 'tis small : 20
Let gay and toilsome Greatness others please,
He loves of homely Littleness the Ease.
Can any Man in guilded rooms attend,
And his dear houres in humble visits spend ;
When in the fresh and beauteous Fields he may
With various healthful pleasures fill the day ?

If there be Man (ye Gods) I ought to Hate
 Dependance and Attendance be his Fate.
 Still let him Busie be, and in a crowd,
 And very much a Slave, and very Proud :
 Thus he perhaps Pow'rful and Rich may grow ;
 No matter, O ye Gods ! that I'll allow.
 But let him Peace and Freedom never see ;
 Let him not love this Life, who loves not Me.

Martial. L. (2.)

10 *Vis fieri Liber ? &c.*

Would you be Free ? 'Tis your chief wish, you say,
 Come on ; I'll shew thee, Friend, the certain way,
 If to no Feasts abroad thou lov'st to go,
 Whilst bounteous God does Bread at home bestow,
 If thou the goodness of thy Cloaths dost prize
 By thine own Use, and not by others Eyes.
 If (onely safe from Weathers) thou can'st dwell,
 I(n) a small House, but a convenient Shell,
 If thou without a Sigh, or Golden wish,
 20 Canst look upon thy Beechen Bowl, and Dish ;
 If in thy Mind such power and greatness be,
 The *Persian* King's a Slave compar'd with Thee.

Mart. L. 2.

Quod te nomine ? &c.

That I do you with humble Bowes no more,
 And danger of my naked Head adore.
 That I who Lord and Master cry'd erewhile,
 Salute you in a new and different Stile,

17 If (onely) (If onely 1668.

By your own Name, a scandal to you now,
 Think not that I forget my self or you :
 By loss of all things by all others sought
 This Freedome, and the Freemans Hat is bought.
 A Lord and Master no man wants but He
 Who o're Himself has no Autoritie.
 Who does for Honours and for Riches strive,
 And Follies, without which Lords cannot Live.
 If thou from Fortune dost no Servant crave,
 Believe it, thou no Master need'st to have.

10

Ode.

Vpon Liberty.

I.

Freedome with Virtue takes her seat,
 Her proper place, her onely Scene,
 Is in the Golden Mean,
 She lives not with the Poor, nor with the Great.
 The Wings of those Necessity has clipt,
 And they'r in Fortunes Bridewell whipt,
 To the laborious task of Bread ;
 These are by various Tyrants Captive lead.

20

Now wild Ambition with imperious force
 Rides, raines, and spurs them like th' unruly Horse.
 And servile Avarice yoakes them now
 Like toilsome Oxen to the Plow.
 And sometimes Lust, like the Misguiding Light,
 Drawes them through all the Labyrinths of Night.

If any Few among the Great there be
From these insulting Passions free,
Yet we ev'n those too fetter'd see
By Custom, Business, Crowds, and formal Decency.
And whereso'ere they stay, and whereso'ere they go,
Impertinencies round them flow :
These are the small uneasie things
Which about Greatness still are found,
And rather it Molest than Wound :
10 Like Gnats which too much heat of summer brings ;
But Cares do swarm there too, and those have stings :
As when the Honey does too open lie,
A thousand Wasps about it fly :
Nor will the Master ev'n to share admit ;
The Master stands aloof, and dares not Taste of it.

2.

'Tis Morning ; well ; I fain would yet sleep on ;
You cannot now ; you must be gone
To Court, or to the noisy Hall :
Besides, the Rooms without are crowded all ;
20 The steam of Business does begin,
And a Spring-Tide of Clients is come in.
Ah cruel Guards, which this poor Prisoner keep !
Will they not suffer him to sleep ?
Make an Escape ; out at the Postern flee,
And get some blessed Houres of Libertie,
With a few Friends, and a few Dishes dine,
And much of Mirth and moderate Wine.
To thy bent Mind some relaxation give,
And steal one day out of thy Life to Live.

Oh happy man (he cries) to whom kind Heaven
 Has such a Freedome always given !
 Why, mighty Madman, what should hinder thee
 From being every day as Free ?

3.

In all the Freeborn Nations of the Air,
 Never did Bird a spirit so mean and sordid bear,
 As to exchange his Native Liberty
 Of soaring boldly up into the sky,
 His Liberty to Sing, to Perch, or Fly,
 When, and where'ver he thought good, 10
 And all his innocent pleasures of the Wood,
 For a more plentiful or constant Food.
 Nor ever did Ambitious rage
 Make him into a painted Cage,
 Or the false Forest of a well-hung Room,
 For Honour and Preferment come.
 Now, Blessings on ye all, ye Heroick Race,
 Who keep their Primitive powers and rights so well
 Though Men and Angels fell.
 Of all Material Lives the highest place, 20
 To you is justly given ;
 And wayes and walkes the nearest Heaven.
 Whilst wretched we, yet vain and proud, think fit
 To boast, That we look up to it.
 Even to the Universal Tyrant Love,
 You Homage pay but'once a year :
 None so degenerous and unbirdly prove,
 As his perpetual yoke to bear.
 None but a few unhappy Houshold Foul,
 Whom human Lordship does controul ; 30

Who from their birth corrupted were
By Bondage, and by mans Example here.

4.

He's no small Prince who every day
Thus to himself can say,
Now will I sleep, now eat, now sit, now walk,
Now meditate alone, now with Acquaintance talk ;
This I will do, here I will stay,
Or if my Fancy call me away,
My Man and I will presently go ride ;
10 (For we before have nothing to provide,
Nor after are to render an account)
To *Dover*, *Barwick*, or the *Cornish* Mount.
If thou but a short journey take,
As if thy last thou wert to make,
Business must be dispatch'd e're thou canst part,
Nor canst thou stirr unless there be
A hundred Horse and Men to wait on thee,
And many a Mule, and many a Cart ;
What an unwi(e)ldy man thou art ?
20 The *Rhodian Colossus* so
A Journey too might go.

5.

Where Honour or where Conscience does not bind
No other Law shall shackle me,
Slave to my self I will not be,
Nor shall my future Actions be confin'd
By my own present Mind.

Who by Resolves and Vows engag'd does stand
For days that yet belong to Fate,
Does like an unthrift Morgage his Estate
Before it falls into his Hand,
The Bondman of the Cloister so
All that he does receive does always owe.
And still as Time comes in, it goes away
Not to Enjoy, but Debts to pay.
Unhappy Slave, and Pupil to a Bell !
Which his hours work as well as hours does tell ! 10
Unhappy till the last, the kind releasing Knell.

6.

If Life should a well-order'd Poem be
(In which he only hits the white
Who joyns true Profit with the best Delight)
The more Heroique strain let others take,
Mine the Pindarique way I'll make.
The Matter shall be Grave, the Numbers loose and
free.
It shall not keep one settled pace of Time,
In the same Tune it shall not always Chime, 20
Nor shall each day just to his Neighbour Rhime,
A thousand Liberties it shall dispense,
And yet shall mannage all without offence ;
Or to the sweetness of the Sound, or greatness of the
Sence,
Nor shall it never from one Subject start,
Nor seek Transitions to depart,
Nor its set way o're Stiles and Bridges make,
Nor thorough Lanes a Compass take

As if it fear'd some trespass to commit,
 When the wide Air's a Road for it.
 So the Imperial Eagle does not stay
 Till the whole Carkass he devour
 That's fallen into its power.
 As if his generous Hunger understood
 That he can never want plenty of Food,
 He only sucks the tastful Blood.
 And to fresh Game flies cheerfully away ;
 10 To Kites and meaner Birds he leaves the mangled
 Prey.

⟨2.⟩ *Of Solitude.*

Nunquam minus solus, quam cum solus, is now become a very vulgar saying. Every Man and almost every Boy for these seventeen hundred years, has had it in his mouth. But it was at first spoken by the Excellent *Scipio*, who was without question a most Eloquent and Witty person, as well as the most Wise, most Worthy, most Happy, and the
 20 Greatest of all Mankind. His meaning no doubt was this, That he found more satisfaction to his mind, and more improvement of it by Solitude then by Company, and to shew that he spoke not this loosly or out of vanity, after he had made *Rome*, Mistriss of almost the whole World, he retired himself from it by a voluntary exile, and at a private house in the middle of a wood neer *Linternum*, passed *Epist. 86.*
 the remainder of his Glorious life no less Gloriously. This House *Seneca* went to see so long after with
 30 great veneration, and among other things describes

his Baths to have been of so mean a structure, that now, says he, the basest of the people would despise them, and cry out, poor *Scipio* understood not how to live. What an Authority is here for the credit of Retreat? and happy had it been for *Hannibal*, if Adversity could have taught him as much Wisdom as was learnt by *Scipio* from the highest prosperities. This would be no wonder if it were as truly as it is colourably and wittily said by Monsieur *de Montagne*. That Ambition it self might teach us to love Solitude ; 10 there's nothing does so much hate to have Companions. 'Tis true, it loves to have its Elbows free, it detests to have Company on either side, but it delights above all Things in a Train behind, I, and Ushers too before it. But the greatest part of men are so far from the opinion of that noble *Roman*, that if they chance at any time to be without company, they'r like a becalmed Ship, they never move but by the wind of other mens breath, and have no Oars of their own to steer withal. It is very fantas- 20 tical and contradictory in humane Nature, that Men should love themselves above all the rest of the world, and yet never endure to be with themselves. When they are in love with a Mistriss, all other persons are importunate and burdensome to them. *Tecum vivere amem, tecum obeam Lubens*, They would live and dye with her alone.

*Sic ego secretis possum bene vivere silvis
 Quà nulla humano sit via trita pedé,
 Tu mihi curarum requies, tu nocte vel atrâ
 Lumen, & in solis tu mihi turba locis.*

With thee for ever I in woods could rest,
 Where never humane foot the ground has prest,
 Thou from all shades the darkness canst exclude,
 And from a Desert banish Solitude.

And yet our Dear Self is so wearisome to us, that we can scarcely support its conversation for an hour together. This is such an odd temper of mind as *Catullus* expresses towards one of his Mistresses, whom we may suppose to have been of a very
 10 unsociable humour.

*Odi & Amo, quam id faciam ratione requiris ?
 Nescio, sed fieri sentio, & excrucior.*

I Hate, and yet I Love thee to ;
 How can that be ? I know not how ;
 Only that so it is I know,
 And feel with Torment that 'tis so.

It is a deplorable condition, this, and drives a man sometimes to pittiful shifts in seeking how to avoid Himself.

20 The truth of the matter is, that neither he who is a Fop in the world, is a fit man to be alone ; nor he who has set his heart much upon the world, though he have never so much understanding ; so that Solitude can be well fitted and set right, but upon a very few persons. They must have enough knowledge of the World to see the vanity of it, and enough Virtue to despise all Vanity ; if the Mind be possess'd with any Lust or Passions, a man had better be in a Faire, than in a Wood alone. They may like
 30 petty Thieves cheat us perhaps, and pick our pockets

in the midst of company, but like Robbers they use to strip and bind, or murder us when they catch us alone. This is but to retreat from Men, and fall into the hands of Devils. 'Tis like the punishment of Parricides among the *Romans*, to be sow'd into a Bag with an Ape, a Dog, and a Serpent. The first work therefore that a man must do to make himself capable of the good of Solitude, is, the very Eradication of all Lusts, for how is it possible for a Man to enjoy himself while his Affections are tyed to things without 10 Himself? In the second place, he must learn the Art and get the Habit of Thinking; for this too, no less than well speaking, depends upon much practice, and Cogitation is the thing which distinguishes the Solitude of a God from a wild Beast. Now because the soul of Man is not by its own Nature or observation furnisht with sufficient Materials to work upon; it is necessary for it to have continual recourse to Learning and Books for fresh supplies, so that the solitary Life will grow indigent, and be ready to 20 starve without them; but if once we be thoroughly engaged in the Love of Letters, instead of being wearied with the length of any day, we shall only complain of the shortness of our whole Life.

O vita, stulto longa, sapienti brevis!

O Life, long to the Fool, short to the Wise!

The first Minister of State has not so much business in publique, as a wise man has in private; if the one ~~have~~ little leasure to be alone, the other has less leasure to be in company; the one has but part of 30 the affairs of one Nation, the other all the works of

God and Nature under his consideration. There is no saying shocks me so much as that which I hear very often, That a man does not know how to pass his Time. 'Twould have been but ill spoken by *Methusalem* in the Nine hundred sixty ninth year of his Life, so far it is from us, who have not time enough to attain to the utmost perfection of any part of any Science, to have cause to complain that we are forced to be idle for want of work. But this you'll
¹⁰ say is work only for the Learned, others are not capable either of the employments or divertisements that arrive from Letters<.) I know they are not ; and therefore cannot much recommend Solitude to a man totally illiterate. But if any man be so unlearned as to want entertainment of the little Intervals of accidental Solitude, which frequently occur in almost all conditions (except the very meanest of the people, who have business enough in the necessary provisions for Life) it is truly a great shame both to his
²⁰ Parents and Himself, for a very small portion of any Ingenious Art will stop up all those gaps of our Time, either Musique, or Painting, or Designing, or Chymistry, or History, or Gardening, or twenty other things will do it usefully and pleasantly ; and if he happen to set his affections upon Poetry (which I do not advise him too immoderately) that will over do it ; no wood will be thick enough to hide him from the importunities of company or business, which would abstract him from his Beloved.

³⁰ ——— *O quis me gelidis sub montibus Æmi* *Virg.*
Sistat, & ingenti ramorum protegat umbrâ ? *Georg.*

1.

Hail, old *Patrician* Trees, so great and good !
Hail ye *Plebeian* under wood !
Where the Poetique Birds rejoyce,
And for their quiet Nests and plentious Food,
Pay with their grateful voice.

2.

Hail, the poor Muses richest Mannor Seat !
Ye Countrey Houses and Retreat,
Which all the happy Gods so Love,
That for you oft they quit their Bright and Great
Metropolis above.

10

3.

Here Nature does a House for me erect,
Nature the wisest Architect,
Who those fond Artists does despise
That can the fair and living Trees neglect ;
Yet the Dead Timber prize.

4.

Here let me careless and unthoughtful lying,
Hear the soft winds above me flying,
With all their wanton Boughs dispute,
And the more tuneful Birds to both replying,)
Nor be my self too Mute.

20

5.

A Silver stream shall roul his waters neer,
Guilt with the Sun-beams here and there
On whose enamel'd Bank I'll walk,
And see how prettily they Smile, and hear
How prettily they Talk.

6.

Ah wretched, and too Solitary Hee
Who loves not his own Company!
He'll feel the weight of't many a day
Unless he call in Sin or Vanity
To help to bear't away.

7.

Oh Solitude, first state of Human-kind!
Which blest remain'd till man did find
Even his own helpers Company.
As soon as two (alas!) together joyn'd,
10 The Serpent made up Three.

8.

Though God himself, through countless Ages Thee
His sole Companion chose to be,
Thee, Sacred Solitude alone,
Before the Branchy head of Numbers Tree
Sprang from the Trunk of One.

9.

Thou (though men think thine an unactive part)
Dost break and tame th'unruly heart,
Which else would know no settled pace<,>
Making it move, well mannag'd by thy Art,
20 With Swiftneſs and with Grace.

10.

Thou the faint beams of Reasons scatter'd Light,
Dost like a Burning-glass unite,
Dost multiply the feeble Heat,
And fortifie the strength, till thou dost bright
And noble Fires beget.

11.

Whilst this hard Truth I teach, methinks, I see
 The Monster *London* laugh at me,
 I should at thee too, foolish City,
 If it were fit to laugh at Misery,
 But thy Estate I pity.

12.

Let but thy wicked men from out thee go,
 And all the Fools that crowd the so,
 Even thou who dost thy Millions boast,
 A Village less then *Islington* wilt grow,
 A Solitude almost.

10

3. *Of Obscurity.*

*Nam neque Divitibus contingunt gaudia solis, Hor. Epist.
 Nec vixit male, qui natus moriensque Fefellit.* l. i. 18.

*God made not pleasures only for the Rich,
 Nor have those men without their share too liv'd,
 Who both in Life and Death the world deceiv'd.*

This seems a strange Sentence thus literally translated, and looks as if it were in vindication of the men of business (for who else can Deceive the world?) whereas it is in commendation of those who live and dye so obscurely, that the world takes no notice of them. This *Horace* calls deceiving the world, and in another place uses the same phrase.

*Secretum iter & Fallentis semita vitæ. Ep. 18.
 The secret tracks of the Deceiving Life.*

13 (marg.) 18.] This should be 17.

It is very elegant in Latine, but our English word will hardly bear up to that sence, and therefore Mr. *Broom* translates it very well,

Or from a Life, led as it were by stealth.

Yet we say in our Language, a thing deceives our sight, when it passes before us unperceived, and we may say well enough out of the same Authour,

*Sometimes with sleep, sometimes with wine we strive,
The cares of Life and troubles to Deceive.*

- 10 But that is not to deceive the world, but to deceive our selves, as *Quintilian* saies, *Vitam fallere*, *Declam.*
To draw on still, and amuse, and deceive *de Apib.*
our Life, till it be advanced insensibly to the fatal Period, and fall into that Pit which Nature hath prepared for it. The meaning of all this is no more then that most vulgar saying, *Bene qui latuit, bene vixit*, He has lived well, who has lain well hidden. Which if it be a truth, the world (I'll swear) is suffi-
20 ciently deceived: For my part, I think it is, and that the pleasantest condition of Life, is *in Incognito*. What a brave Privilege is it to be free from all Contentions, from all Envyng or being Envyed, from recieving and from paying all kind of Ceremonies? It is in my mind, a very delightful pastime, for two good and agreeable friends to travail up and down together, in places where they are by no body known, nor know any body. It was the case of *Æneas* and

his *Achates*, when they walkt invisibly about the fields and streets of *Carthage*, *Venus* her self

A vail of thickned Air around them cast, *Virg. l.*
That none might know, or see them as they past. *Æn.*

The common story of *Demosthenes's* confession that he had taken great pleasure in hearing of a Tankerwoman say as he past; This is that *Demosthenes*, is wonderful ridiculous from so solid an Orator. I myself have often met with that temptation to vanity (if it were any) but am so far from finding it any ¹⁰ pleasure, that it only makes me run faster from the place, till I get, as it were out of sight-shot. *Democritus* relates, and in such a manner, as if he gloried in the good fortune and commodity of it, that when he came to *Athens* no body there did so much as take notice of him; and *Epicurus* lived there very well, that is, Lay hid many years in his Gardens, so famous since that time, with his friend *Metrodorus*: after whose death, making in one of his letters a kind commemoration of the happiness which they two had enjoyed ²⁰ together, he adds at last, that he thought it no disparagement to those great felicities of their life, that in the midst of the most Talk'd-of and Talking Country in the world, they had lived so long, not only without Fame, but almost without being heard of. And yet within a very few years afterward, there were no two Names of men more known or more generally celebrated. If we engage into a large Acquaintance and various familiarities, we set open our gates to the Invaders of most of our time: we expose our ³⁰ life to a *Quotidian Ague* of frigid impertinencies,

which would make a wise man tremble to think of. Now, as for being known much by sight, and pointed at, I cannot comprehend the honour that lies in that : Whatsoever it be, every Mountebank has it more than the best Doctor, and the Hangman more than the Lord Chief Justice of a City. Every creature has it both of Nature and Art if it be any ways extraordinary. It was as often said, This is that *Bucephalus*, or, This is that *Incitatus*, when they were led
10 prancing through the streets, as, this is that *Alexander*, or this is that *Domitian* ; and truly for the latter, I take *Incitatus* to have bin a much more Honourable Beast than his Master, and more deserving the Consulship, then he the Empire. I love and commend a true good Fame, because it is the shadow of Virtue, not that it doth any good to the Body which it accompanies, but 'tis an efficacious shadow, and like that of St. *Peter* cures the Diseases of others. The best kinde of Glory, no doubt, is that which is re-
20 flected from Honesty, such as was the Glory of *Cato* and *Aristides*, but it was harmful to them both, and is seldom beneficial to any man whilst he lives, what it is to him after his death, I cannot say, because, I love not *Philosophy* merely notional and conjectural, and no man who has made the Experiment has been so kind as to come back to inform us. Upon the whole matter, I account a person who has a moderate Minde and Fortune, and lives in the conversation of two or three agreeable friends, with little commerce
30 in the world besides, who is esteemed well enough by his few neighbours that know him, and is truly irreproachable by any body, and so after a healthful

quiet life, before the great inconveniences of old age, goes more silently out of it than he came in, (for I would not have him so much as Cry in the *Exit*), this Innocent Deceiver of the world, as *Horace* calls him, this *Muta persona*, I take to have been more happy in his Part, than the greatest Actors that fill the Stage with show and noise, nay, even then *Augustus* himself, who askt with his last breath, Whether he had not played his *Farce* very well.

Seneca, ex Thyeste,

10

Act. 2. Chor.

Stet quicunque volet, potens

Aulæ culmine lubrico, &c.

Upon the slippery tops of humane State,
 The guilded Pinnacles of Fate,
 Let others proudly stand, and for a while
 The giddy danger to beguile,
 With Joy, and with disdain look down on all,
 Till their Heads turn, and down they fall.
 Me, O ye Gods, on Earth, or else so near
 That I no Fall to Earth may fear,
 And, O ye gods, at a good distance seat
 From the long Ruines of the Great.
 Here wrapt in th' Arms of Quiet let me ly;
 Quiet, Companion of Obscurity.
 Here let my Life, with as much silence slide,
 As Time that measures it does glide.
 Nor let the Breath of Infamy or Fame,
 From town to town Eccho about my Name.

20

Nor let my homely Death embroidered be
 With Scutcheon or with Elegie.
 An old *Plebean* let me Dy,
 Alas, all then are such as well as I.
 To him, alas, to him, I fear,
 The face of Death will terrible appear :
 Who in his life flattering his senceless pride
 By being known to all the world beside,
 Does not himself, when he is Dying know
 10 Nor what he is, nor Whither hee's to go.

4. *Of Agriculture.*

THE first wish of *Virgil* (as you will find anon by his Verses) was to be a good Philosopher ; the second, a good Husbandman ; and God (whom he seem'd to understand better then most of the most learned Heathens) dealt with him just as he did with *Solomon* ; because he prayed for wisdom in the first place, he added all things else which were subordinately to be desir'd. He made him one of the best Philoso-
 20 phers, and best Husbandmen, and to adorn and communicate both those faculties, the best Poet : He made him besides all this a rich man, and a man who desired to be no richer. *O Fortunatus nimium, & bona qui sua novit* : To be a Husbandman, is but a retreat from the City ; to be a Philosopher, from the world, or rather, a Retreat from the world, as it is mans ; into the world, as it is Gods. But since Nature denies to most men the capacity or appetite, and Fortune
 30 allows but to a very few the opportunities or possibility of applying themselves wholly to Philosophy,

the best mixture of humane affairs that we can make, are the employments of a Country life. It is, as *Columella* calls it, *Res sine dubitatione proxima, & quasi Consanguinea Sapientie*, The nearest Neighbour, or rather next in Kindred to Philosophy. lib. I. c. I.

Varro sayes, the Principles of it are the same which *Ennius* made to be the Principles of all Nature : Earth, Water, Air, and the Sun. It does certainly comprehend more parts of Philosophy then any one Profession, Art or Science in the world besides : and 10 therefore *Cicero* saies, The pleasures of a Husbandman, *Mihi ad sapientis vitam proxime videntur accedere*, Come very nigh to those of a Philosopher. De senect. There is no other sort of life that affords so many branches of praise to a Panegyrist : The Utility of it to a mans self : The Usefulness, or rather Necessity of it to all the rest of Mankind : The Innocence, the Pleasure, the Antiquity, the Dignity. The Utility (I mean plainly the Lucre of it) is not so great now in our Nation as arises from Merchandise 20 and the trading of the City, from whence many of the best Estates and chief Honours of the Kingdom are derived : we have no men now fetcht from the Plow to be made Lords, as they were in *Rome* to be made Consuls and Dictators, the reason of which I conceive to be from an evil Custom, now grown as strong among us, as if it were a Law, which is, that no men put their Children to be bred up Apprentices in Agriculture, as in other Trades, but such who are so poor, that when they come to be men, they have 30 not wherewithall to set up in it, and so can only Farm some small parcel of ground, the Rent of which

devours all but the bare Subsistence of the Tenant : Whilst they who are Proprietors of the Land, are either too proud, or, for want of that kind of Education, too ignorant to improve their Estates, though the means of doing it be as easie and certain in this as in any other track of Commerce : If there were alwaies two or three thousand youths, for seven or eight years bound to this Profession, that they might learn the whole Art of it, and afterwards be enabled
10 to be Masters in it, by a moderate stock : I cannot doubt but that we should see as many Aldermens Estates made in the Country, as now we do out of all kind of Merchandizing in the City. There are as many wayes to be Rich, and which is better, there is no Possibility to be poor, without such negligence as can neither have excuse nor Pity ; for a little ground will without question feed a little family, and the superfluities of Life (which are now in some cases by custome made almost necessary) must be supplied
20 out of the superabundance of Art and Industry, or contemned by as great a Degree of Philosophy. As for the Necessity of this Art, it is evident enough, since this can live without all others, and no one other without this. This is like Speech, without which the Society of men cannot be preserved ; the others like Figures and Tropes of Speech which serve only to adorn it. Many Nations have lived, and some do still, without any Art but this ; not so Elegantly, I confess, but still they Live, and almost
30 all the other Arts which are here practised, are beholding to this for most of their Materials. The

Innocence of this Life is the next thing for which I commend it, and if Husbandmen preserve not that, they are much to blame, for no men are so free from the Temptations of Iniquity. They live by what they can get by Industry from the Earth, and others by what they can catch by Craft from men. They live upon an Estate given them by their Mother, and others upon an Estate cheated from their Brethren. They live like Sheep and Kine, by the allowances of Nature, and others like Wolves and Foxes by the acquisitions of Rapine. And, I hope, I may affirm (without any offence to the Great) that Sheep and Kine are very useful, and that Wolves and Foxes are pernicious creatures. They are without dispute of all men the most quiet and least apt to be inflamed to the disturbance of the Common-wealth: their manner of Life inclines them, and Interest binds them to love Peace: In our late mad and miserable Civil Wars, all other Trades, even to the meanest, set forth whole Troopes, and raised up some great Command-
 ers, who became famous and mighty for the mischiefs they had done: But, I do not remember the Name of any one Husbandman who had so considerable a share in the twenty years ruine of his Country, as to deserve the Curses of his Country-men: And if great delights be joyn'd with so much Innocence, I think it is ill done of men not to take them here where they are so tame, and ready at hand, rather then hunt for them in Courts and Cities, where they are so wild, and the chase so troublesome and dangerous.

We are here among the vast and noble Scenes of

Nature ; we are there among the pitiful shifts of Policy : We walk here in the light and open wayes of the Divine Bounty ; we grope there in the dark and confused Labyrinths of Human Malice : Our Senses are here feasted with the clear and genuine taste of their Objects, which are all Sophisticated there, and for the most part overwhelmed with their contraries. Here Pleasure looks (methinks) like a beautiful, constant, and modest Wife ; it is there an impudent, fickle, and
 10 painted Harlot. Here is harmless and cheap Plenty, there guilty and expenseful Luxury.

I shall onely instance in one Delight more, the most natural and best natur'd of all others, a perpetual companion of the Husbandman ; and that is, the satisfaction of looking round about him, and seeing nothing but the effects and improvements of his own Art and Diligence ; to be alwayes gathering of some Fruits of it, and at the same time to behold others ripening, and others budding : to see all his Fields
 10 and Gardens covered with the beauteous Creatures of his own Industry ; and to see, like God, that all his Works are Good.

—*Hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades ; ipsi
 Agricolæ tacitum pertendant gaudia pectus.*

On his heart-strings a secret Joy does strike.

The Antiquity of his Art is certainly not to be contested by any other. The three first Men in the World, were a Gardner, a Ploughman, and a Grazier ; and if any man object, That the second of these was

25 strike. *IV.* : strike ; 1668.

a Murtherer, I desire he would consider, that as soon as he was so, he quitted our Profession, and turn'd Builder. It is for this reason, I suppose, that *Ecclesiasticus* forbids us to hate Husbandry; because (sayes he) the most High has created it. We were all Born to this Art, and taught by Nature to *Cap. 7.* nourish our Bodies by the same Earth out of which they were made, and to which they must return, and pay at last for their sustenance.

Behold the Original and Primitive Nobility of all ¹⁰ those great Persons, who are too proud now, not onely to till the Ground, but almost to tread upon it. We may talke what we please of Lilies, and Lions Rampant, and Spread-Eagles in Fields d'Or, or d'Argent; but if Heraldry were guided by Reason, a Plough in a Field Arable, would be the most Noble and Antient Armes.

All these considerations make me fall into the wonder and complaint of *Columella*, How it should come to pass that all Arts or Sciences, (for the dis- ²⁰ pute, which is an Art, and which a Science, does not belong to the curiosity of us Husbandmen) *Metaphysick, Physick, Morality, Mathematicks, Logick, Rhetorick*, &c. which are all, I grant, good and usefull faculties, (except onely *Metaphysick* which I do not know whether it be any thing or no) but even *Vaulting, Fencing, Dancing, Attiring, Cookery, Carving*, and such like Vanities, should all have publick Schools and Masters; and yet that we should never see or hear of any man who took upon him the Profession ³⁰ of teaching this so pleasant, so virtuous, so profitable, so honourable, so necessary Art.

A man would think, when he's in serious humour, that it were but a vain, irrational and ridiculous thing, for a great company of Men and Women to run up and down in a Room together, in a hundred several postures and figures, to no purpose, and with no design; and therefore Dancing was invented first, and onely practised anciently in the Ceremonies of the Heathen Religion, which consisted all in Mommery and Madness; the latter being the chief glory of the
10 Worship, and accounted Divine Inspiration: This, I say, a severe Man would think, though I dare not determine so far against so customary a part now of good breeding. And yet, who is there among our Gentry, that does not entertain a Dancing Master for his Children as soon as they are able to walk? But, Did ever any Father provide a Tutor for his Son to instruct him betimes in the Nature and Improvements of that Land which he intended to leave him? That is at least a superfluity, and this a Defect in our
20 manner of Education; and therefore I could wish (but cannot in these times much hope to see it) that one Colledge in each University were erected, and appropriated to this study, as well as there are to Medecin, and the Civil Law: There would be no need of making a Body of Scholars and Fellowes, with certain endowments, as in other Colledges; it would suffice, if after the manner of Halls in *Oxford*, there were only four Professors constituted (for it would be too much work for onely one Master, or
30 Principal, as they call him there) to teach these four parts of it. First, *Aration*, and all things relating to it. Secondly, *Pasturage*. Thirdly, *Gardens, Orchards*,

Vineyards and Woods. Fourthly, All parts of *Rural Oeconomy*, which would contain the Government of *Bees, Swine, Poultry, Decoys, Ponds, &c.* and all that which *Varro* calls *Villaticas Pastiones*, together with the Sports of the Field (which ought to be looked upon not onely as Pleasures, but as parts of House-keeping) and the Domestical conservation and uses of all that is brought in by Industry abroad. The business of these Professors should not be, as is commonly practised in other Arts, onely to read *Pompos* 10 and *Superficial Lectures* out of *Virgils Georgickes, Pliny, Varro, or Columella*, but to instruct their Pupils in the whole Method and course of this study, which might be run through perhaps with diligence in a year or two ; and the continual succession of Scholars upon a moderate taxation for their Diet, Lodging, and Learning, would be a sufficient constant revenue for Maintenance of the House and the Professors, who should be men not chosen for the Ostentation of Critical Literature, but for solid and experimental 20 Knowledge of the things they teach such Men ; so industrious and publick-spirited as I conceive Mr. *Hartlib* to be, if the Gentleman be yet alive : But it is needless to speak farther of my thoughts of this Design, unless the present Disposition of the Age allowed more probability of bringing it into execution. What I have further to say of the Country Life, shall be borrowed from the Poets, who were alwayes the most faithful and affectionate friends to it. Poetry was Born among the Shepherds.

30

*Nescio qua Natale solum dulcedine Musas
Ducit, & immemores non sinit esse sui.*

The Muses still love their own Native place,
T'has secret Charms which nothing can deface.

The truth is, no other place is proper for their work ; one might as well undertake to Dance in a Crowd, as to make good Verses in the midst of Noise and Tumult.

As well might Corn as Verse in Cities grow ;
In vain the thankless Glebe we Plow and Sow,
Against th' unnatural Soil in vain we strive ;
10 'Tis not a Ground in which these Plants will thrive.

It will bear nothing but the Nettles or Thornes of *Satyre*, which grow most naturally in the worst Earth ; And therefore almost all Poets, except those who were not able to eat Bread without the bounty of Great men, that is, without what they could get by Flattering of them, have not onely withdrawn themselves from the Vices and Vanities of the Grand World (*Pariter vitiisque Jociisque Altius humanis exeruere caput*) into the innocent happiness of a retired
20 Life ; but have commended and adorned nothing so much by their Ever-living Poems. *Hesiod* was the first or second Poet in the World that remains yet extant (if *Homer*, as some think, preceded him, but I rather believe they were Contemporaries) and he is the first Writer too of the Art of Husbandry : He has contributed (sayes *Columella*) not a little to our Profession ; I suppose he means not a little Honour, for the matter of his Instructions is not very important : His great Antiquity is visible through the Gravity
30 and Simplicity of his Stile. The most Acute of all

his sayings concerns our purpose very much, and is couched in the reverend obscurity of an Oracle. Πλέον ἤμισυ Παντός. The half is more then the whole. The occasion of the speech is this; His Brother *Perses* had by corrupting some great men (Βασιλῆας Δωροφάγους, Great Bribe-eaters he calls them) gotten from him the half of his Estate. It is no Matter, (says he) they have not done me so much prejudice, as they imagine.

Νήπιοι, οὐδ' (ἐ) ἴσασιν ὅσῳ Πλέον ἤμισυ Παντός, 10
Οὐδ' ὅσον ἐν μαλάχῃ τε καὶ ἀσφοδέλῳ μέγ' ὄνειαρ,
Κρύψαντες γὰρ ἔχουσι θεοὶ βίον ἀνθρώποισι.

Unhappy they to whom God has not reveal'd
By a strong Light which must their sence controle,
That halfe a great Estate's more then the whole:
Unhappy, from whom still conceal'd does lie
Of Roots and Herbs, the wholesome Luxurie.

This I conceive to have been Honest *Hesiods* meaning. From *Homer* we must not expect much concerning our affairs. He was Blind and could 20 neither work in the Countrey, nor enjoy the pleasures of it, his helpless Poverty was likeliest to be sustained in the richest places, he was to delight the *Grecians* with fine tales of the Wars and adventures of their Ancestors; his Subject removed him from all Commerce with us, and yet, methinks, he made a shift to show his good will a little. For though he could do us no Honour in the person of his *Hero Ulisses* (much less of *Achilles*) because his whole time was consumed in Wars and Voyages, yet he makes his Father 30

3 Πλέον] Πλεόν 1668. 10 ἴσασιν W.: ἴσάσιν 1668 Πλέον W.: Πλεόν 1668.

Laertes a Gardener all that while, and seeking his Consolation for the absence of his son in the pleasure of Planting and even Dunging his own grounds. Ye see he did not condemn us Peasants, nay, so far was he from that insolence, that he always stiles *Eumæus*, who kept the Hogs(,) with wonderful respect Δῖον ὑφορβόν, the Divine Swine-herd. He could ha' done no more for *Menelaus* or *Agamemnon*. And *Theocritus* (a very ancient Poet, but he was one of our own
 10 Tribe, for he wrote nothing but Pastorals) gave the same Epithete to an Husbandman Ἀμείβετο Δῖος ἀγρώτης. The Divine Husbandman replied to *Hercules*, who was but Δῖος Himself. These were Civil *Greeks*! and who understood the Dignity of our Calling! among the *Romans* we have in the first place, our truly Divine *Virgil*, who, though by the favour of *Mæcnas* and *Augustus*, he might have been one of the chief men of *Rome*, yet chose rather to employ much of his time in the exercise, and much of
 20 his immortal wit in the praise and instructions of a Rustique Life, who though he had written before whole Books of Pastorals and *Georgiques* could not abstain in his great and Imperial Poem from describing *Evander*, one of his best Princes, as living just after the homely manner of an ordinary Countreyman. He seats him in a Throne of Maple, and lays him but upon a Bears skin, the Kine and Oxen are lowing in his Court yard, the Birds under the Eeves of his Window call him up in the morning, and when
 30 he goes abroad, only two Dogs go along with him for

7 ὑφορβόν, the . . . herd. He] ὑφορβον. The . . . herd he 1668.
 11 Ἀμείβετο W. : Εκέιβετο 1668. 17 Μæcnas] Mæcnas 1668.

his guard: at last when he brings *Æneas* into his Royal Cottage, he makes him say this memorable complement, greater then ever yet was spoken at the *Escorial*, the *Louvre*, or our *Whitehall*.

——— *Hæc (inquit) limina victor*
Alcides subiit, hæc illum Regia cepit,
Aude, Hospes, contemnere opes, & te quoque dignum
Finge Deo, rebusque veni non asper egenis.

This humble Roof, this rustique Court (said He)
 Receiv'd *Alcides* crown'd with victory. 10
 Scorn not (Great Guest) the steps where he has trod,
 But condemn Wealth, and imitate a God.

The next Man whom we are much obliged to, both for his Doctrine and Example, is the next best Poet in the world to *Virgil*; his dear friend *Horace*, who when *Augustus* had desired *Mæcnas* to perswade him to come and live domestically, and at the same Table with him, and to be Secretary of State of the whole World under him, or rather joyntly with him, for he says, *ut nos in Epistolis scribendis adjuvet*, 10 could not be tempted to forsake his *Sabin*, or *Tiburtin* Mannor, for so rich and so glorious a trouble. There was never, I think, such an example as this in the world, that he should have so much moderation and courage as to refuse an offer of such greatness, and the Emperour so much generosity and good Nature as not to be at all offended with his refusal, but to retain still the same kindness, and express it often to him in most friendly and familiar Letters, part of

which are still extant. If I should produce all the passages of this excellent Author upon the several Subjects which I treat of in this Book, I must be obliged to translate half his works; of which I may say more truly than in my opinion he did of *Homer*, *Qui quid sit pulchrum, quid Turpe, quid utile, quid non, plenius & melius Chrysippo, & Crantore dicit.* I shall content my self upon this particular Theme with three only, one out of his *Odes*, the other out of
10 his *Satyrs*, the third out of his *Epistles*, and shall forbear to collect the suffrages of all other Poets, which may be found scattered up and down through all their writings, and especially in *Martials*. But I must not omit to make some excuse for the bold undertaking of my own unskilful Pencil upon the beauties of a Face that has been drawn before by so many great Masters, especially, that I should dare to do it in *Latine* verses (though of another kind) and have the confidence to Translate them. I can only say
20 that I love the Matter, and that ought to cover many faults; and that I run not to contend with those before me, but follow to applaud them.

7 non, plenius W. : non plenius, 1668. 10 Epistles W. : Epistles 1668.

*Virg. Georg?**O fortunatos nimium, &c.*A Translation out of *Virgil*.

ON happy, (if his Happiness he knows)
 The Country Swain, on whom kind Heav'n bestows
 At home all Riches that wise Nature needs ;
 Whom the just earth with easie plenty feeds.
 'Tis true, no morning Tide of Clients comes,
 And fills the painted Channels of his rooms,
 Adoring the rich Figures, as they pass, 10
 In Tap'stry wrought, or cut in living brass ;
 Nor is his Wooll superfluously dy'd
 With the dear Poyson of *Assyrian* pride :
 Nor do *Arabian* Perfumes vainly spoil
 The Native Use, and Sweetness of his Oyl.
 Instead of these, his calm and harmless life
 Free from th' Alarms of Fear, and storms of Strife,
 Does with substantial blessedness abound,
 And the soft wings of Peace cover him round :
 Through artless Grots the murmuring waters glide ; 20
 Thick Trees both against Heat and Cold provide,
 From whence the Birds salute him ; and his ground
 With lowing Herds, and bleating Sheep does sound ;
 And all the Rivers, and the Forests nigh,
 Both Food and Game, and Exercise supply.
 Here a well hard'ned active youth we see,
 Taught the great Art of chearful Poverty.
 Here, in this place alone, there still do shine
 Some streaks of Love, both humane and Divine ;

From hence *Astræa* took her flight, and here
Still her last Foot-steps upon Earth appear.
'Tis true, the first desire which does controul
All the inferiour wheels that move my Soul,
Is, that the Muse me her high Priest would make ;
Into her holiest Scenes of Myst'ry take,
And open there to my mind's purged eye
Those wonders which to Sense the Gods deny ;
How in the Moon such change of shapes is found :
10 The Moon, the changing Worlds eternal bound.
What shakes the solid Earth, what strong disease
Dares trouble the firm Centre's antient ease ;
What makes the Sea retreat, and what advance :
Varieties too regular for chance.
What drives the Chariot on of Winters light,
And stops the lazy Waggon of the night.
But if my dull and frozen Blood deny,
To send forth Sp'rits that raise a Soul so high ;
In the next place, let Woods and Rivers be
20 My quiet, though unglorious destiny.
In Life's cool vale let my low Scene be laid ;
Cover me Gods, with *Tempe's* thickest shade.
Happy the Man, I grant, thrice happy he
Who can through gross effects their causes see :
Whose courage from the deeps of knowledg springs,
Nor vainly fears inevitable things ;
But does his walk of virtue calmly go,
Through all th' allarms of Death and Hell below.
Happy! but next such Conquerours, happy they,
30 Whose humble Life lies not in fortunes way.
They unconcern'd from their safe distant seat,
Behold the Rods and Scepters of the great.

The quarrels of the mighty, without fear,
 And the descent of forein Troops they hear.
 Nor can even *Rome* their stedly course misguide,
 With all the lustre of her perishing Pride.
 Them never yet did strife or avarice draw,
 Into the noisy markets of the Law,
 The Camps of Gowned War, nor do they live
 By rules or forms that many mad men give.
 Duty for Natures Bounty they repay,
 And her sole Laws religiously obey. 10

Some with bold Labour plow the faithless main,
 Some rougher storms in Princes Courts sustain.
 Some swell up their sleight sails with pop'ular fame,
 Charm'd with the foolish whistlings of a Name.
 Some their vain wealth to Earth again commit ;
 With endless cares some brooding o're it sit.
 Country and Friends are by some Wretches sold,
 To lie on *Tyrian* Beds and drink in Gold ;
 No price too high for profit can be shown ;
 Not Brothers blood, nor hazards of their own. 20
 Around the World in search of it they roam,
 It makes ev'n their Antipodes their home ;
 Mean while, the prudent Husbandman is found,
 In mutual duties striving with his ground,
 And half the year he care of that does take,
 That half the year grateful returns does make.
 Each fertil moneth does some new gifts present,
 And with new work his industry content.
 This, the young Lamb, that the soft Fleece doth yield,
 This, loads with Hay, and that, with Corn the Field : 30
 All sorts of Fruit crown the rich *Autumns* Pride :
 And on a swelling Hill's warm stony side,

The powerful Princely Purple of the Vine,
Twice dy'd with the redoubled Sun, does shine.
In th' Evening to a fair ensuing day,
With joy he sees his Flocks and Kids to play ;
And loaded Kyne about his Cottage stand,
Inviting with known sound the Milkers hand ;
And when from wholsom labour he doth come,
With wishes to be there, and wish't for home,
He meets at door the softest humane blisses,
10 His chast Wives welcom, and dear Childrens kisses.
When any Rural Holy dayes invite
His Genius forth to innocent delight,
On Earth's fair bed beneath some sacred shade,
Amidst his equal friends carelesly laid,
He sings thee *Bacchus* Patron of the Vine,
The Beechen Boul fomes with a floud of Wine,
Not to the loss of reason or of strength :
To active games and manly sport at length,
Their mirth ascends, and with fill'd veins they see,
20 Who can the best at better trials be.
Such was the Life the prudent *Sabins* chose,
From such the old *Hetrurian* virtue rose.
Such, *Remus* and the God his Brother led,
From such firm footing *Rome* grew the World's head.
Such was the Life that ev'n till now does raise
The honour of poor *Saturns* golden dayes :
Before Men born of Earth and buried there,
Let in the Sea their mortal fate to share.
Before new wayes of perishing were sought,
30 Before unskilful Death on Anvils wrought.
Before those Beasts which humane Life sustain,
By Men, unless to the Gods use were slain.

*Horat? Epodon.**Beatus ille qui procul, &c.*

HAPPY the Man whom bounteous Gods allow
 With his own Hands Paternal Grounds to plough!
 Like the first golden Mortals Happy he
 From Business and the cares of Money free!
 No humane storms break off at Land his sleep.
 No loud Alarms of Nature on the Deep,
 From all the cheats of Law he lives secure,
 Nor does th' affronts of Palaces endure; 10
 Sometimes the beauteous Marriagable Vine
 He to the lusty Bridegroom Elm does joyn;
 Sometimes he lops the barren Trees around,
 And grafts new Life into the fruitful wound;
 Sometimes he sheers his Flock, and sometimes he
 Stores up the Golden Treasures of the Bee.
 He sees his lowing Herds walk o're the Plain,
 Whilst neighbouring Hills low back to them again:
 And when the Season Rich as well as Gay,
 All her Autumnal Bounty does display, 20
 How is he pleas'd th' encreasing Use to see,
 Of his well trusted Labours bend the tree?
 Of which large shares, on the glad sacred daies
 He gives to Friends, and to the Gods repays.
 With how much joy do's he beneath some shade
 By aged trees rev'rend embraces made,
 His careless head on the fresh Green recline,
 His head uncharg'd with Fear or with Design.

By him a River constantly complains,
The Birds above rejoyce with various strains
And in the solemn Scene their *Orgies* keep
Like Dreams mixt with the Gravity of sleep,
Sleep which does alwaies there for entrance wait
And nought within against it shuts the gate.

Nor does the roughest season of the sky,
Or sullen *Jove* all sports to him deny,
He runs the *Mazes* of the nimble Hare,
10 His well-mouth'd Dogs glad concert rends the air,
Or with game bolder, and rewarded more,
He drives into a Toil, the foaming Bore,
Here flies the Hawk t' assault, and there the Net
To intercept the travailing fowl is set.
And all his malice, all his craft is shown
In innocent wars, on beasts and birds alone.
This is the life from all misfortunes free,
From thee the Great one, Tyrant Love, from Thee ;
And if a chaste and clean, though homely wife
20 Be added to the blessings of this Life,
Such as the antient Sun-burnt *Sabins* were,
Such as *Apulia*, frugal still, does bear,
Who makes her Children and the house her care,
And joyfully the work of Life does share,
Nor thinks herself too noble or too fine
To pin the sheepfold or to milch the Kine,
Who waits at door against her Husband come
From rural duties, late, and wearied home,
Where she receives him with a kind embrace,
30 A chearful Fire, and a more chearful Face :
And fills the Boul up to her homely Lord,
And with domestique plenty loads the board.

Not all the lustful shel-fish of the Sea,
 Drest by the wanton hand of Luxurie,
 Nor *Ortalans* nor *Godwits* nor the rest
 Of costly names that glorify a Feast,
 Are at the Princely tables better cheer,
 Then Lamb and Kid, Lettice and Olives here.

The Country Mouse.

A Paraphrase upon Horace 2 Book, Satyr. 6.

At the large foot of a fair hollow tree,
 Close to plow'd ground, seated commodiously, 10
 His antient and Hereditary House,
 There dwelt a good substantial Country-Mouse :
 Frugal, and grave, and careful of the main,
 Yet, one, who once did nobly entertain
 A City Mouse well coated, sleek, and gay,
 A Mouse of high degree, which lost his way,
 Wantonly walking forth to take the Air,
 And arriv'd early, and belighted there,
 For a days lodging : the good hearty Hoast,
 (The antient plenty of his hall to boast) 20
 Did all the stores produce, that might excite,
 With various tasts, the Courtiers appetite.
 Fitches and Beans, Peason, and Oats, and Wheat,
 And a large Chesnut, the delicious meat
 Which *Jove* himself, were he a Mouse, would eat.
 And for a *Haut goust* there was mixt with these
 The swerd of Bacon, and the coat of Cheese.

The precious Reliques, which at Harvest, he
Had gather'd from the Reapers luxurie.
Freely (said he) fall on and never spare,
The bounteous Gods will for to morrow care.
And thus at ease on beds of straw they lay,
And to their Genius sacrific'd the day.
Yet the nice guest's Epicurean mind,
(Though breeding made him civil seem and kind)
Despis'd this Country feast, and still his thought
10 Upon the Cakes and Pies of *London* wrought.
Your bounty and civility (said he)
Which I'm surpriz'd in these rude parts to see,
Shews that the Gods have given you a mind,
Too noble for the fate which here you find.
Why should a Soul, so virtuous and so great,
Lose it self thus in an Obscure retreat ?
Let savage Beasts lodg in a Country Den,
You should see Towns, and Manners know, and men :
And taste the generous Lux'ury of the Court,
20 Where all the Mice of quality resort ;
Where thousand beauteous shees about you move,
And by high fare, are plyant made to love.
We all e're long must render up our breath,
No cave or hole can shelter us from death.
Since Life is so uncertain, and so short,
Let's spend it all in feasting and in sport.
Come, worthy Sir, come with me, and partake,
All the great things that mortals happy make.
Alas, what virtue hath sufficient Arms,
30 T'oppose bright Honour, and soft Pleasures charms ?
What wisdom can their magick force repel ?
It draws this reverend Hermit from his Cel.

It was the time, when witty Poets tell,
That Phœbus into Thetis bosom fell :
She blusht at first, and then put out the light,
And drew the modest Curtains of the night.
Plainly, the troth to tell, the Sun was set,
When to the Town our wearied Travellers get,
To a Lords house, as Lordly as can be
Made for the use of Pride and Luxury,
They come ; the gentle Courtier at the door
Stops and will hardly enter in before. 10
But 'tis, Sir, your command, and being so,
I 'm sworn t' obedience, and so in they go.
Behind a hanging in a spacious room,
(The richest work of *Mortclakes* noble Loom)
They wait awhile their wearied limbs to rest,
Till silence should invite them to their feast.
About the hour that Cynthia's Silver light,
Had touch'd the pale Meridies of the night ;
At last the various Supper being done,
It happened that the Company was gone, 20
Into a room remote, Servants and all,
To please their nobles fancies with a Ball.
Our host leads forth his stranger, and do's find,
All fitted to the bounties of his mind.
Still on the Table half fill'd dishes stood,
And with delicious bits the floor was strow'd.
The courteous mouse presents him with the best,
And both with fat varieties are blest,
Th' industrious Peasant every where does range,
And thanks the gods for his Life's happy change. 30
Loe, in the midst of a well fraited Pye,
They both at last gluttred and wanton lye.

When see the sad Reverse of prosperous fate,
And what fierce storms on mortal glories wait.
With hideous noise, down the rude servants come,
Six dogs before run barking into th' room ;
The wretched gluttons fly with wild affright,
And hate the fulness which retards their flight.
Our trembling Peasant wishes now in vain,
That Rocks and Mountains cover'd him again.
Oh how the change of his poor life he curst !
10 This, of all lives (said he) is sure the worst.
Give me again, *ye gods*, my Cave and wood ;
With peace, let tares and acorns be my food.

*A Paraphrase upon the 10th Epistle of the first
Book of Horace.*

Horace to Fuscus Aristius.

HEALTH, from the lover of the Country me,
Health, to the lover of the City thee,
A difference in our souls, this only proves,
In all things else, w' agree like married doves.
10 But the warm nest, and crowded dove-house thou
Dost like ; I loosely fly from bough to bough,
And Rivers drink, and all the shining day,
Upon fair Trees, or mossy Rocks I play ;
In fine, I live and reign when I retire
From all that you equal with Heaven admire.
Like one at last from the Priests service fled,
Loathing the honie'd Cakes, I long for Bread.
Would I a house for happines erect,
Nature alone should be the Architect.

She'd build it more convenient, then great,
And doubtless in the Country choose her seat.
Is there a place, doth better helps supply,
Against the wounds of Winters cruelty?
Is there an Ayr that gentl'er does asswage
The mad Celestial Dogs, or Lyons rage?
Is it not there that sleep (and only there)
Nor noise without, nor cares within does fear?
Does art through pipes, a purer water bring,
Then that which nature straines into a spring? 10
Can all your Tap'stries, or your Pictures show
More beauties then in herbs and flowers do grow?
Fountains and trees our wearied Pride do please,
Even in the midst of gilded Palaces.
And in your towns that prospect gives delight,
Which opens round the country to our sight.
Men to the good, from which they rashly fly,
Return at last, and their wild Luxury
Does but in vain with those true joyes contend,
Which Nature did to mankind recommend. 20
The man who changes gold for burnisht Brass,
Or small right Gems, for larger ones of glass:
Is not, at length, more certain to be made
Ridiculous, and wretched by the trade,
Than he, who sells a solid good, to buy
The painted goods of Pride and Vanity.
If thou be wise, no glorious fortune choose,
Which 'tis but pain to keep, yet grief to loose.
For, when we place even trifles, in the heart,
With trifles too, unwillingly we part. 30
An humble Roof, plain bed, and homely board,
More clear, untainted pleasures do afford,

Then all the Tumult of vain greatness brings
To Kings, or to the favorites of Kings.
The horned Deer by Nature arm'd so well,
Did with the Horse in common pasture dwell ;
And when they fought, the field it alwayes wan,
Till the ambitious Horse begg'd help of Man,
And took the bridle, and thenceforth did reign
Bravely alone, as Lord of all the plain :
But never after could the Rider get
10 From off his back, or from his mouth the bit.
So they, who poverty too much do fear,
T' avoid that weight, a greater burden bear ;
That they might Pow'r above their equals have,
To cruel Masters they themselves enslave.
For Gold, their Liberty exchang'd we see,
That fairest flow'r, which crowns Humanity.
And all this mischief does upon them light,
Only, because they know not how, aright,
That great, but secret, happiness to prize,
20 That's laid up in a Little, for the Wise :
That is the best, and easiest Estate,
Which to a man sits close, but not too strait ;
'Tis like a shooe ; it pinches, and it burns,
Too narrow ; and too large it overturns.
My dearest friend, stop thy desires at last,
And chearfully enjoy the wealth thou hast.
And, if me still seeking for more you see,
Chide, and reproach, despise and laugh at me.
Money was made, not to command our will,
30 But all our lawful pleasures to fulfil.
Shame and wo to us, if we' our wealth obey ;
The Horse doth with the Horse-man run away.

The Country Life.

Libr. 4. Plantarum.

BLEST be the man (and blest he is) whom 'ere
 (Plac'd far out of the roads of Hope or Fear)
 A little Field, and little Garden feeds ;
 The Field gives all that Frugal Nature needs,
 The wealthy Garden liberally bestows
 All she can ask, when she luxurious grows.
 The specious inconveniences that wait
 Upon a life of Business, and of State, 10
 He sees (nor does the sight disturb his rest)
 By fools desir'd, by wicked men possess.
 Thus, thus (and this deserv'd great *Virgils* praise)
 The old *Corycian* Yeoman past his daies,
 Thus his wise life *Abdolonymus* spent :
 Th' Ambassadors which the great Emp'rour sent
 To offer him a Crown, with wonder found
 The reverend Gard'ner howing of his Ground,
 Unwillingly and slow and discontent,
 From his lov'd Cottage, to a Throne he went. 20
 And oft he stopt in his triumphant way,
 And oft lookt back, and oft was heard to say
 Not without sighs, Alas, I there forsake
 A happier Kingdom then I go to take.
 Thus *Aglaüs* (a man unknown to men,
 But the gods knew and therefore lov'd him Then)
 Thus liv'd obscurely then without a Name,
Aglaüs now consign'd t' eternal Fame.
 For *Gyges*, the rich King, wicked and great,
 Presum'd at wise *Apollus Delphick* seat 30

Presum'd to ask, Oh thou, the whole Worlds Eye,
 See'st thou a Man, that Happier is then I ?
 The God, who scorn'd to flatter Man, reply'd,
Aglaius Happier is. But *Gyges* cry'd,
 In a proud rage, Who can that *Aglaius* be ?
 We have heard as yet of no such King as Hee.
 And true it was through the whole Earth around
 No King of such a Name was to be found.
 Is some old *Hero* of that name alive,
 10 Who his high race does from the Gods derive ?
 Is it some mighty General that has done,
 Wonders in fight, and God-like honours wone ?
 Is it some man of endless wealth, said he ?
 None, none of these ; who can this *Aglaius* bee ?
 After long search and vain inquiries past,
 In an obscure *Arcadian* Vale at last,
 (The *Arcadian* life has always shady been)
 Near *Sopho's* Town (which he but once had seen)
 This *Aglaius* who Monarchs Envy drew,
 20 Whose Happiness the Gods stood witness too,
 This mighty *Aglaius* was labouring found,
 With his own Hands in his own little ground.
 So, gracious God, (if it may lawful be,
 Among those foolish gods to mention Thee)
 So let me act, on such a private stage,
 The last dull Scenes of my declining Age ;
 After long toiles and Voyages in vain,
 This quiet Port let my tost Vessel gain,
 Of Heavenly rest, this Earnest to me lend,
 30 Let my Life sleep, and learn to love her End.

4 cry'd] cry'd 1668. 13 man *W.* : men 1668.

17 been)] been. 1668.

〈5〉 The Garden.

To J. Evelyn Esquire.

I NEVER had any other desire so strong, and so like to Covetousness as that one which I have had always, that I might be master at last of a small house and large garden, with very moderate conveniencies io ioynd to them, and there dedicate the remainder of my life only to the culture of them and study of Nature,

And there (with no design beyond my wall) whole 10
and intire to lye,
In no unactive Ease, and no unglorious Poverty.

Or as *Virgil* has said, Shorter and Better for me, that I might there *Studiis florere ignobilis otii* (though I could wish that he had rather said, *Nobilis otii*, when he spoke of his own) But several accidents of my ill fortune have disappointed me hitherto, and do still, of that felicity ; for though I have made the first and hardest step to it, by abandoning all ambitions and hopes in this World, and by retiring from the 20 noise of all business and almost company, yet I stick still in the Inn of a hired House and Garden, among Weeds and Rubbish ; and without that plesantest work of Human Industry, the Improvement of something which we call (not very properly, but yet we call) Our Own. I am gone out from *Sodom*, but I am not yet arrived at my Little *Zoar*. *O let me escape thither (Is it not a Little one ?) and my Soul shall live.*

I do not look back yet ; but I have been forced to stop, and make too many halts. You may wonder, Sir, (for this seems a little too extravagant and Pindarical for *Prose*) what I mean by all this Preface ; It is to let you know, That though I have mist, like a Chymist, my great End, yet I account my affections and endeavours well rewarded by something that I have met with by the By ; which is, that they have procured to me some part in your kindness and
10 esteem ; and thereby the honour of having my Name so advantageously recommended to Posterity, by the *Epistle* you are pleased to prefix to the most useful Book that has been written in that kind, and which is to last as long as Moneths and Years.

Among many other *Arts* and *Excellencies* which you enjoy, I am glad to find this Favourite of mine the most predominant, That you choose this for your Wife, though you have hundreds of other Arts for your Concubines ; Though you know them, and beget
20 Sons upon them all (to which you are rich enough to allow great Legacies) yet the issue of this seemes to be designed by you to the main of the Estate ; you have taken most pleasure in it, and bestow'd most charges upon its Education : and I doubt not to see that Book, which you are pleased to Promise to the World, and of which you have given us a Large Earnest in your Calendar, as Accomplisht, as any thing can be expected from an *Extraordinary Wit*, and no ordinary Expences, and a long Experience.
30 I know no body that possesses more private happiness then you do in your Garden ; and yet no man who makes his happiness more publick, by a free commu-

nication of the Art and Knowledge of it to others.
 All that I my self am able yet to do, is onely to re-
 commend to Mankind the search of that Felicity,
 which you Instruct them how to Find and to Enjoy.

I.

Happy art Thou, whom God does bless
 With the full choice of thine own Happiness ;
 And happier yet, because thou'rt blest
 With prudence, how to choose the best :
 In Books and Gardens thou hast plac'd aright
 (Things which thou well dost understand ; 10
 And both dost make with thy laborious hand)
 Thy noble, innocent delight :
 And in thy virtuous Wife, where thou again dost meet
 Both pleasures more refin'd and sweet :
 The fairest Garden in her Looks,
 And in her Mind the wisest Books.
 Oh, Who would change these soft, yet solid joys,
 For empty shows and senceless noys ;
 And all which rank Ambition breeds,
 Which seem such beauteous Flowers, and are such 20
 poisonous Weeds ?

2.

When God did Man to his own Likeness make,
 As much as Clay, though of the purest kind,
 By the great Potters art refin'd,
 Could the Divine Impression take,
 He thought it fit to place him, where
 A kind of Heaven too did appear,
 As far as Earth could such a Likeness bear :

That man no happiness might want,
Which Earth to her first Master could afford ;
He did a Garden for him plant
By the quick Hand of his Omnipotent Word.
As the chief Help and Joy of human life,
He gave him the first Gift ; first, ev'n before a Wife.

3.

For God, the universal Architect,
T'had been as easie to erect
A Louure or Escorial, or a Tower
10 That might with Heav'n communication hold,
As *Babel* vainly thought to do of old :
He wanted not the skill or power,
In the Worlds Fabrick those were shown,
And the Materials were all his own.
But well he knew what place would best agree
With Innocence, and with Felicity :
And we elsewhere still seek for them in vain,
If any part of either yet remain ;
If any part of either we expect,
20 This may our Judgment in the search direct ;
God the first Garden made, and the first City, *Cain*.

4.

Oh blessed shades ! O gentle cool retreat
From all th' immoderate Heat,
In which the frantick World does Burn and Sweat !
This does the Lion-Star, Ambitions rage ;
This Avarice, the Dogstars Thirst asswage ;
Every where else their fatal power we see,
They make and rule Mans wretched Destiny :

They neither Set, nor Disappear,
 But tyrannize o're all the Year ;
 Whilst we ne're feel their Flame or Influence here.
 The Birds that dance from Bough to Bough,
 And Sing above in every Tree,
 Are not from Fears and Cares more free,
 Then we who Lie, or Sit, or Walk below,
 And should by right be Singers too.
 What Princes Quire of Musick can excell
 That which within this shade does dwell, 10
 To which we nothing Pay or Give ?
 They like all other Poets live,
 Without reward, or thanks for their obliging pains ;
 'Tis well if they become not Prey :
 The whisling Winds add their less artfull strains,
 And a grave Base the murmuring Fountains play ;
 Nature does all this Harmony bestow,
 But to our Plants, Arts Musick too,
 The Pipe, Theorbo, and Guitarr we owe ;
 The Lute it self, which once was Green and Mute, 20
 When *Orpheus* strook th' inspired Lute,
 The Trees danc'd round, and understood
 By Sympathy the Voice of Wood.

5.

These are the Spels that to kind Sleep invite,
 And nothing does within resistance make,
 Which yet we moderately take ;
 Who would not choose to be awake,
 While he's encompast round with such delight,
 To th' Ear, the Nose, the Touch, the Tast & Sight ?

10 dwell,] dwell? 1668.

11 Give?] Give, 1668.

When *Venus* would her dear *Ascanius* keep
 A Prisoner in the Downy Bands of Sleep,
 She Od'rous Herbs and Flowers beneath him spread
 As the most soft and sweetest Bed ;
 Not her own Lap would more have charm'd his Head.
 Who, that has Reason, and his Smell,
 Would not among Roses and Jasmin dwell,
 Rather then all his Spirits choak
 With Exhalations of Durt and Smoak ?
 10 And all th' uncleanness which does drown
 In Pestilential Clouds a populous Town ?
 The Earth it self breaths better Perfumes here,
 Then all the Femal Men or Women there,
 Not without cause, about them bear.

6.

When *Epicurus* to the World had taught,
 That Pleasure was the chieftest Good,
 (And was perhaps i'th' right, if rightly understood)
 His Life he to his Doctrine brought,
 And in a Gardens shade that Sovereign Pleasure
 20 sought :
 Whoever a true Epicure would be,
 May there find cheap and virtuous Luxurie.
Vitellius his Table, which did hold
 As many Creatures as the Ark of old :
 That Fiscal Table, to which every day
 All Countries did a constant Tribute pay,
 Could nothing more delicious afford,
 Then Natures Liberalitie,
 Helpt with a little Art and Industry,
 30 Allows the meanest Gard'ners board.

The wanton Tast no Fish, or Fowl can choose,
 For which the Grape or Melon she would lose,
 Though all th' Inhabitants of Sea and Air
 Be listed in the Gluttons bill of Fare ;

Yet still the Fruits of Earth we see
 Plac'd the Third Story high in all her Luxury.

7.

But with no Sence the Garden does comply ;
 None courts, or flatters, as it does the Eye :
 When the great *Hebrew* King did almost strain
 The wond'rous Treasures of his Wealth and Brain, 10
 His Royal Southern Guest to entertain ;

Though she on Silver Floores did tread,
 With bright *Assyrian* Carpets on them spread,
 To hide the Metals Poverty.

Though she look'd up to Roofs of Gold,
 And nought around her could behold

But Silk and rich Embroidery,
 And *Babylonian* Tapestry,

And wealthy *Hirams* Princely Dy :

Though *Ophirs* Starry Stones met every where her Eye ; 20
 Though She her self, and her gay Host were drest
 With all the shining glories of the East ;
 When lavish Art her costly work had done,

The honour and the Prize of Bravery
 Was by the Garden from the Palace won ;
 And every Rose and Lilly there did stand

Better attir'd by Natures hand :

The case thus judg'd against the King we see,
 By one that would not be so Rich, though Wiser far
 then He.

8.

Nor does this happy place onely dispence
Such various Pleasures to the Sence ;
Here Health it self does live,
That Salt of Life, which does to all a relish
give,
Its standing Pleasure, and Intrinsick Wealth,
The Bodies Virtue, and the Souls good Fortune
Health.

The Tree of Life, when it in *Eden* stood,
10 Did its immortal Head to Heaven rear ;
It lasted a tall Cedar till the Flood ;
Now a small thorny Shrub it does appear ;
Nor will it thrive too every where :
It alwayes here is freshest seen ;
'Tis onely here an Ever-green.
If through the strong and beauteous Fence
Of Temperance and Innocence,
And wholsome Labours, and a quiet Mind,
Any Diseases passage find,
20 They must not think here to assail
A Land unarm'd, or without a Guard ;
They must fight for it, and dispute it hard,
Before they can prevail :
Scarce any Plant is growing here
Which against Death some Weapon does not
bear.
Let Cities boast, That they provide
For Life the Ornaments of Pride ;
But 'tis the Country and the Field,
30 That furnish it with Staffe and Shield.

9.

Where does the Wisdom and the Power Divine
 In a more bright and sweet Reflection Shine ?
 Where do we finer strokes and colours see
 Of the Creators Real Poetry,

Then when we with attention look
 Upon the Third Dayes Volume of the Book ?
 If we could open and intend our Eye,

We all like *Moses* should espy
 Ev'n in a Bush the radiant Deitie.

But we despise these his Inferiour wayes, 10
 (Though no less full of Miracle and Praise)

Upon the Flowers of Heaven we gaze ;
 The Stars of Earth no wonder in us raise,
 Though these perhaps do more then they,
 The life of Mankind sway.

Although no part of mighty Nature be
 More stor'd with Beauty, Power, and Myserie ;
 Yet to encourage human Industrie,
 God has so ordered, that no other part
 Such Space, and such Dominion leaves for Art. 20

10.

We no where Art do so triumphant see,
 As when it Grafs or Buds the Tree :
 In other things we count it to excell,
 If it a Docile Schollar can appear
 To Nature, and but imitate her well ;
 It over-rules, and is her Master here.
 It imitates her Makers Power Divine,
 And changes her sometimes, and sometimes does
 refine :

It does, like Grace, the Fallen Tree restore
 To its blest state of Paradise before :
 Who would not joy to see his conquering hand
 Ore all the Vegetable World command ?
 And the wild Giants of the Wood receive
 What Law he's pleas'd to give ?
 He bids th' il-natur'd Crab produce
 The gentler Apples Winy Juice ;
 The golden fruit that worthy is
 10 Of *Galatea's* purple kiss ;
 He does the savage Hawthorn teach
 To bear the Medlar and the Pear,
 He bids the rustick Plum to rear
 A noble Trunk, and be a Peach.
 Even *Daphnes* coyness he does mock,
 And weds the Cherry to her stock,
 Though she refus'd *Apolloes* suit ;
 Even she, that chaste and Virgin Tree,
 Now wonders at her self, to see
 20 That she's a mother made, and blushes in her fruit.

II.

Methinks I see great *Dioclesian* walk
 In the *Salonian* Gardens noble shade,
 Which by his own Imperial hands was made :
 I see him smile (methinks) as he does talk
 With the Ambassadors, who come in vain,
 T' entice him to a throne again.
 If I, my Friends (said he) should to you show
 All the delights, which in these Gardens grow ;

'Tis likelier much, that you should with me stay,
 Than 'tis that you should carry me away :
 And trust me not, my Friends, if every day,
 I walk not here with more delight,
 Then ever after the most happy fight,
 In Triumph, to the Capitol, I rod,
 To thank the gods, & to be thought, my self almost
 a god.

6. *Of Greatness.*

SINCE we cannot attain to Greatness, (saies the *Sieur* ¹⁰
de Montagn) let's have our revenge by railing at it :
 this he spoke but in Jest. I believe he desired it no
 more then I do, and had less reason, for he enjoyed
 so plentiful and honourable a fortune in a most
 excellent Country, as allowed him all the real con-
 veniences of it, seperated and purged from the In-
 commodities. If I were but in his condition, I should
 think it hard measure, without being convinced of
 any crime, to be sequestred from it and made one
 of the Principal Officers of State. But the Reader ²⁰
 may think that what I now say, is of small authority,
 because I never was, nor ever shall be put to the
 tryal : I can therefore only make my Protestation,

*If ever I more Riches did desire
 Then Cleanliness and Quiet do require,
 If e're Ambition did my Fancy cheat,
 With any wish, so mean as to be great,
 Continue, Heav'n, still from me to remove
 The Humble Blessings of that Life I love.*

I know very many men will despise, and some pity me, for this humour, as a poor spirited fellow; but I'm content, and like *Horace* thank God for being so. *Dii bene fecerunt inopis me quodque pusilli Finxerunt animi.* I confess, I love Littleness almost in all things. A little convenient Estate, a little chearful House, a little Company, and a very little Feast, and if I were ever to fall in love again (which is a great Passion, and therefore, I hope, I have done with it) 10 it would be, I think, with Prettiness, rather than with Majestical Beauty. I would neither wish that my Mistress, nor my Fortune, should be a *Bona Roba*, nor as *Homer* uses to describe his Beauties, like a Daughter of great *Jupiter* for the stateliness and largeness of her person, but as *Lucretius* saies,

Parvula, pumilio, Χαίρων μία, tota merum sal.

Where there is one man of this, I believe there are a thousand of *Senecio's* mind, whose ridiculous affectation of Grandeur, *Seneca* the Elder describes to 20 this effect. *Senecio* was a man of a turbid and confused wit, who could not endure to speak any but mighty words and sentences, till this humour grew at last into so notorious a Habit, or rather Disease, as became the sport of the whole Town: he would have no servants, but huge, massy fellows, no plate or household-stuff, but thrice as big as the fashion: you may believe me, for I speak it without Railery, his extravagancy came at last into such a madness, that he would not put on a pair of shooes, each of which 30 was not big enough for both his feet: he would eat nothing but what was great, nor touch any Fruit but

Horse-plums and Pound-pears : he kept a Concubine that was a very Gyantess, and made her walk too alwaies in *Chiopins*, till at last, he got the Surname of *Senecio Grandio*, which, *Messala* said, was not his *Cognomen*, but his *Cognomentum* : when he declamed for the three hundred *Lacedæmonians*, who alone opposed *Xerxes* his Army of above three hundred thousand, he stretch'd out his armes, and stood on tiptoes, that he might appear the taller, and cried out, in a very loud voice ; I rejoyce, I rejoyce— We ¹⁰ wondred, I remember, what new great fortune had befalln his Eminence. *Xerxes* (saies he) is All mine own. He who took away the sight of the Sea, with the Canvas Vailes of so many ships— and then he goes on so, as I know not what to make of the rest, whither it be the fault of the Edition, or the Orators own burly way of Non-sence.

This is the character that *Seneca* gives of this *Hyperbolical* Fop, whom we stand amazed at, and yet there are very few men who are not in some ²⁰ things, and to some degrees *Grandio's*. Is any thing more common, then to see our Ladies of quality wear such high shooes as they cannot walk in, without one to lead them ? and a Gown as long again as their Body, so that they cannot stir to the next room without a Page or two to hold it up ? I may safely say, That all the ostentation of our Grandees is just like a Train of no use in the world, but horribly cumbersome and incommodious. What is all this, but a spice of *Grandio* ? how tædious would this be, if we were ³⁰ always bound to it ? I do believe there is no King, who would not rather be deposed, than endure every

day of his Reign all the Ceremonies of his Coronation. The mightiest Princes are glad to fly often from these Majestique pleasures (which is, methinks, no small disparagement to them) as it were for refuge, to the most contemptible divertisements, and meanest recreations of the vulgar, nay, even of Children. One of the most powerful and fortunate Princes of the world, of late, could finde out no delight so satisfactory, as the keeping of little singing Birds, and
10 hearing of them, and whistling to them. What did the Emperours of the whole world? If ever any men had the free and full enjoyment of all humane Greatness (nay that would not suffice, for they would be gods too) they certainly possest it: and yet, one of them who stiled himself Lord and God of the Earth, could not tell how to pass his whole day pleasantly, without spending constant two or three hours in catching of Flies, and killing them with a bodkin, as if his Godship had been *Beelzebub*. One of his Pre-
10 decessors, *Nero* (who never put any bounds, nor met with any stop to his Appetite) could divert himself with no pastime more agreeable, than to run about the streets all night in a disguise, and abuse the women, and affront the men whom he met, and sometimes to beat them, and sometimes to be beaten by them: This was one of his Imperial nocturnal pleasures. His chiefest in the day, was to sing and play upon a Fiddle, in the habit of a Minstril, upon the publick stage: he was prouder of the Garlands that
30 were given to his Divine voice (as they called it then) in those kinde of Prizes, than all his Forefathers

were, of their Triumphs over nations: He did not at his death complain, that so mighty an Emperour and the last of all the *Cæsarian* race of Deities, should be brought to so shameful and miserable an end, but only cryed out, Alas, what pity 'tis that so excellent a Musician should perish in this manner! His Uncle *Claudius* spent half his time at playing at Dice, that was the main fruit of his Sovereignty. I omit the madneses of *Caligula's* delights, and the execrable sordidness of those of *Tiberius*. Would one think ¹⁰ that *Augustus* himself, the highest and most fortunate of mankind, a person endowed too with many excellent parts of Nature, should be so hard put to it sometimes for want of recreations, as to be found playing at Nuts and bounding stones, with little *Syrian* and *Moorish* Boyes, whose company he took delight in, for their prating and their wantonness?

Was it for this, that *Romes* best blood he spilt,

With so much Falshood, so much guilt?

Was it for this that his Ambition strove,

20

To æqual *Cæsar* first, and after *Jove*?

Greatness is barren sure of solid joyes;

Her Merchandize (I fear) is all in toyes,

She could not else sure so uncivil be,

To treat his universal Majesty,

His new-created Deity,

With Nuts and Bounding-stones and Boys.

But we must excuse her for this meager entertainment, she has not really wherewithall to make such Feasts as we imagine, her Guests must be contented ³⁰ sometimes with but slender Cates, and with the same

cold meats served over and over again, even till they become Nauseous. When you have pared away all the Vanity what solid and natural contentment does there remain which may not be had with five hundred pounds a year ? not so many servants or horses ; but a few good ones, which will do all the business as well : not so many choice dishes at every meal, but at several meals, all of them, which makes them both the more healthy, and the more pleasant : not so rich
10 garments, nor so frequent changes, but as warm and as comely, and so frequent change too, as is every jot as good for the Master, though not for the Tailor, or *Valet de chambre* : not such a stately Palace, nor gilt rooms, or the costliest sorts of Tapestry ; but a convenient brick house, with decent Wainscot, and pretty Forest-work hangings. Lastly, (for I omit all other particulars, and will end with that which I love most in both conditions) not whole Woods cut in walks, nor vast Parks, nor Fountain, or Cascade-
20 Gardens ; but herb, and flower, and fruit-Gardens which are more useful, and the water every whit as clear and wholesome, as if it darted from the breasts of a marble Nymph, or the Urn of a River-God. If for all this, you like better the substance of that former estate of Life, do but consider the inseparable accidents of both : Servitude, Disquiet, Danger, and most commonly Guilt, Inherent in the one ; in the other Liberty, Tranquility, Security and Innocence, and when you have thought upon this, you will confess
30 that to be a truth which appeared to you before, but a ridiculous *Paradox*, that a low Fortune is better

guarded and attended than an high one, If indeed we look only upon the flourishing Head of the Tree, it appears a most beautiful object,

———*Sed quantum vertice ad auras
Etherias tantum radice ad Tartara tendit.*

As far as up to'wards He'ven the Branches grow,
So far the Root sinks down to Hell below.

Another horrible disgrace to greatness is, that it is for the most part in pitiful want and distress: what a wonderful thing is this? unless it degenerate into ¹⁰ Avarice, and so cease to be Greatness: It falls perpetually into such Necessities, as drive it into all the meanest and most sordid ways of Borrowing, Cousinage, and Robbery, *Mancipiis locuples eget aris Cappadocum Rex*, This is the case of almost all Great men, as well as of the poor King of *Cappadocia*. They abound with slaves, but are indigent of Money. The ancient Roman Emperours, who had the Riches of the whole world for their Revenue, had wherewithal to live (one would have thought) pretty well at ease, ²⁰ and to have been exempt from the pressures of extreme Poverty. But yet with most of them, it was much otherwise, and they fell perpetually into such miserable penury, that they were forced to devour or squeeze most of their friends and servants, to cheat with infamous projects, to ransack and pillage all their Provinces. This fashion of Imperial Grandeur, is imitated by all inferiour and subordinate sorts of it, as if it were a point of Honour. They must be cheated of a third part of their Estates, two other thirds they ³⁰ must expend in Vanity, so that they remain Debtors

for all the Necessary Provisions of life, and have no way to satisfie those debts, but out of the succours and supplies of Rapine, as Riches encreases (says Solomon) so do the Mouths that devour it. The Master Mouth has no more than before. The Owner, methinks, is like *Ocnus* in the Fable, who is perpetually winding a Rope of Hay and an Ass at the end perpetually eating it. Out of these inconveniences arises naturally one more, which is, that no Great-
ness can be satisfied or contented with it self: still if
10 it could mount up a little higher, it would be Happy, if it could gain but that point, it would obtain all it's desires ; but yet at last, when it is got up to the very top of the Pic of Tenarif, it is in very great danger of breaking its neck downwards, but in no possibility of ascending upwards into the seat of Tranquility above the Moon. The first ambitious men in the world, the old Gyants are said to have made an Heroical attempt of scaling Heaven in despite of
20 the gods, and they cast *Ossa* upon *Olympus* and *Pelion* upon *Ossa* : two or three mountains more they thought would have done their Business, but the Thunder spoild all the work, when they were come up to the third story.

*And what a noble plot was crost,
And what a brave design was lost.*

A famous person of their Off-spring, the late Gyant of our Nation, when from the condition of a very inconsiderable Captain, he had made himself Lieu-
30 tenant General of an Army of little *Titans*, which was his first Mountain, and afterwards General, which

was his second, and after that, absolute Tyrant of three Kingdoms, which was the third, and almost touch'd the Heaven which he affected, is believed to have dyed with grief and discontent, because he could not attain to the honest name of a King, and the old formality of a Crown, though he had before exceeded the power by a wicked Usurpation. If he could have compast that, he would perhaps have wanted something else that is necessary to felicity, and pined away for want of the Title of an Emperour ¹⁰ or a God. The reason of this is, that Greatness has no reallity in Nature, but a Creature of the Fancy, a Notion that consists onely in Relation and Comparison: It is indeed an Idol; but St. *Paul* teaches us, *That an Idol is nothing in the World*. There is in truth no Rising or Meridian of the Sun, but onely in respect to several places: there is no Right or Left, no Upper-Hand in Nature; every thing is Little, and every thing is Great, according as it is diversly compared. There may be perhaps some Village in *Scotland* ²⁰ or *Ireland* where I might be a Great Man; and in that case I should be like *Cæsar* (you would wonder how *Cæsar* and I, should be like one another in any thing) and choose rather to be the First man of the Village, then Second at *Rome*. Our Country is called *Great Britany*, in regard onely of a Lesser of the same Name; it would be but a ridiculous Epithete for it, when we consider it together with the Kingdom of *China*. That too, is but a pitifull Rood of ground in comparison of the whole Earth besides: and this whole Globe of ³⁰ Earth, which we account so immense a Body, is but

one Point or Atome in relation to those numberless Worlds that are scattered up and down in the Infinite Space of the Skie which we behold. The other many Inconveniences of grandeur I have spoken of dispersly in several Chapters, and shall end this with an *Ode of Horace*, not exactly copyed, but rudely imitated.

Horace. L. 3. Ode 1.

Odi profanum vulgus, &c.

1.

10 HENCE, ye Profane ; I hate ye all ;
 Both the Grat Vulgar, and the small.
To Virgin Minds, which yet their Native whiteness
 hold,
Not yet Discolour'd with the Love of Gold,
 (That Jaundice of the Soul,
Which makes it look so Gilded and so Foul)
To you, ye very Few, these truths I tell ;
The Muse inspires my Song, Hearn, and observe it
 well.

2.

20 We look on Men, and wonder at such odds
 'Twixt things that were the same by Birth ;
We look on Kings as Giants of the Earth,
These Giants are but Pigmeys to the Gods.
The humblest Bush and proudest Oak,
Are but of equal proof against the Thunder-stroke.

11 Great] Great, 1668.

Beauty, and Strength, and Wit, and Wealth, and
Power

Have their short flourishing hour ;
And love to see themselves, and smile,
And joy in their Preeminence a while ;
Even so in the same Land,
Poor Weeds, rich Corn, gay Flowers together stand ;
Alas, Death Mowes down all with an impartial Hand.

3.

And all you Men, whom Greatness does so please,
Ye feast (I fear) like *Damocles* : 10
If you your eyes could upwards move,
(But you (I fear) think nothing is above)
You would perceive by what a little thread
The Sword still hangs over your head.
No Tide of Wine would drown your cares ;
No Mirth or Musick over-noise your feares.
The fear of Death would you so watchfull keep,
As not t' admit the Image of it, sleep.

4.

Sleep is a God too proud to wait in Palaces ;
And yet so humble too as not to scorn 20
The meanest Country Cottages ;
His Poppey grows among the Corn.
The Halcyon sleep will never build his nest
In any stormy breast.
'Tis not enough that he does find
Clouds and Darkness in their Mind ;
Darkness but half his work will do.
'Tis not enough ; he must find Quiet too.

5.

The man, who in all wishes he does make,
Does onely Natures Counsel take,
That wise and happy man will never fear
The evil Aspects of the Year ;
Nor tremble, though two Comets should appear ;
He does not look in Almanacks to see,
Whether he Fortunate shall be ;
Let *Mars* and *Saturn* in th' Heavens conjoyn,
And what they please against the World design,
10 So *Jupiter* within him shine.

6.

If of your pleasures and desires no end be found,
God to your Cares and Fears will set no bound.
What would content you? Who can tell?
Ye fear so much to lose what you have got,
As if you lik'd it well.
Ye strive for more, as if ye lik'd it not.
Go, level Hills, and fill up Seas,
Spare nought that may your wanton Fancy please
But trust Me, when you 'have done all this,
20 Much will be Missing still, and much will be Amiss.

7. *Of Avarice.*

THERE are two sorts of *Avarice*, the one is but of
a Bastard kind, and that is, the rapacious Appetite
of Gain ; not for its own sake, but for the pleasure of
refunding it immediately through all the Channels of
Pride and Luxury. The other is the true kind, and

properly so called ; which is a restless and unsatiable desire of Riches, not for any farther end or use, but onely to hoard, and preserve, and perpetually encrease them. The Covetous Man, of the first kind, is like a greedy *Ostrich*, which devours any Metall, but 'tis with an intent to feed upon it, and in effect it makes a shift to digest and excern it. The second is like the foolish Chough, which loves to steal Money onely to hide it. The first does much harm to Mankind, and a little good too to some few : The second does ¹⁰ good to none ; no, not to himself. The first can make no excuse to God, or Angels, or Rational Men for his actions : The second can give no Reason or colour, not to the Devil himself for what he does ; He is a slave to Mammon without wages. The first makes a shift to be beloved ; I, and envyed too by some People : The second is the universal Object of Hatred and Contempt. There is no Vice has been so pelted with good Sentences, and especially by the Poets, who have pursued it with Stories and Fables, and ²⁰ Allegories, and Allusions ; and moved, as we say, every Stone to fling at it : Among all which, I do not remember a more fine and Gentleman-like Correction, then that which was given it by one Line of *Ovids*.

Desunt Luxuriæ multa, Avaritiæ Omnia.

Much is wanting to Luxury, All to Avarice.

To which saying, I have a mind to add one Member, and render it thus,

Poverty wants some, Luxury Many, Avarice
All Things.

Some body sayes of a virtuous and wise Man, That having nothing, he has all : This is just his Antipode, Who, having All things, yet has Nothing. He's a Guardian Eunuch to his beloved Gold ; *Audivi eos Amatores esse maximos sed nil potesse*. They'r the fondest Lovers, but impotent to Enjoy.

And, oh, What Mans condition can be worse
Then his, whom Plenty starves, and Blessings curse ;
The Beggars but a common Fate deplore,
10 The Rich poor Man's Emphatically Poor.

I wonder how it comes to pass, that there has never been any Law made against him : Against him, do I say ? I mean, For him ; as there are publick Provisions made for all other Madmen : It is very reasonable that the King should appoint some persons (and I think the Courtiers would not be against this proposition) to manage his Estate during his Life (for his Heires commonly need not that care) and out of it to make it their business to see, that he should not want
20 Alimony befitting his condition, which he could never get out of his own cruel fingers. We relieve idle Vagrants, and counterfeit Beggars, but have no care at all of these really Poor men, who are (methinks) to be respectfully treated in regard of their quality. I might be endless against them, but I am almost choakt with the super-abundance of the Matter ; Too much Plenty impoverishes me as it does Them. I will conclude this odious Subject with part of *Horace's* first *Satyre*, which take in his own familiar
30 stile.

I 'dmire, *Mæcenas*, how it comes to pass,
 That no man ever yet contented was,
 Nor is, nor perhaps will be with that state
 In which his own choice plants him or his Fate<.)
 Happy the Merchant, the old Soldier cries ;
 The Merchant beaten with tempestuous skies,
 Happy the Soldier<;> one half hour to thee
 Gives speedy Death or Glorious victory.
 The Lawyer, knockt up early from his rest
 By restless Clyents, calls the Peasant blest, 10
 The Peasant when his Labours ill succeed,
 Envys the Mouth which only Talk does feed,
 'Tis not (I think you'l say) that I want store
 Of Instances, if here I add no more,
 They are enough to reach at least a mile
 Beyond long *Orator Fabius* his Stile,
 But, hold, you whom no Fortune e're endears
 Gentlemen, Malecontents, and Mutineers,
 Who bounteous *Jove* so often cruel call,
 Behold, *Jove's* now resolv'd to please you all. 20
 Thou Souldier be a Merchant, Merchant, Thou
 A Souldier be ; and, Lawyer, to the Plow.
 Change all your stations strait, why do they stay ?
 The Devil a man will change, now when he may,
 Were I in General *Jove's* abused case,
 By *Jove* I'de cudgel this rebellious race :
 But he's too good ; Be all then as you were,
 However make the best of what you are,
 And in that state be chearful and rejoyce,
 Which either was your Fate, or was your Choice. 30

No, they must labour yet, and sweat and toil,
And very miserable be a while.
But 'tis with a Design only to gain
What may their Age with plenteous ease maintain.
The prudent Pismire does this Lesson teach
And industry to Lazy Mankind preach.
The little Drudge does trot about and sweat,
Nor does he strait devour all he can get,
But in his temperate Mouth carries it home
10 A stock for Winter which he knows must come.
And when the rowling World to Creatures here
Turns up the deform'd wrong side of the Year,
And shuts him in, with storms, and cold, and wet,
He chearfully does his past labours eat :
O, does he so ? your wise example, th' Ant,
Does not at all times Rest, and Plenty want.
But weighing justly 'a mortal Ants condition
Divides his Life 'twixt Labour and Fruition.
Thee neither heat, nor storms, nor wet, nor cold
20 From thy unnatural diligence can withhold,
To th' *Indies* thou wouldst run rather then see
Another, though a Friend, Richer then Thee.
Fond man ! what Good or Beauty can be found
In heaps of Treasure buried under ground ?
Which rather then diminisht e're to see
Thou wouldst thy self too buried with them be :
And what's the difference, is't not quite as bad
Never to Use, as never to have Had ?
In thy vast Barns millions of Quarters store,
30 Thy Belly for all that will hold no more
Then Mine does ; every Baker makes much Bread,
What then ? He's with no more then others fed.

Do you within the bounds of Nature Live,
 And to augment your own you need not strive,
 One hundred Acres will no less for you
 Your Life's whole business then ten thousand do.
 But pleasant 'tis to take from a great store ;
 What, Man ? though you'r resolv'd to take no more
 Then I do from a small one ? if your Will
 Be but a Pitcher or a Pot to fill,
 To some great River for it must you go,
 When a clear spring just at your feet does flow ? 10
 Give me the Spring which does to humane use
 Safe, easie, and untroubled stores produce,
 He who scorns these, and needs will drink at *Nile*
 Must run the danger of the Crocodile,
 And of the rapid stream it self which may
 At unawares bear him perhaps away.
 In a full Flood *Tantalus* stands, his skin
 Washt o're in vain, for ever, dry within ;
 He catches at the Stream with greedy lips,
 From his toucht Mouth the wanton Torment slips : 20
 You laugh now, and expand your careful brow ;
 Tis finely said, but what's all this to you ?
 Change but the Name, this Fable is thy story,
 Thou in a Flood of useless Wealth dost Glory,
 Which thou canst only touch but never taste ;
 Th' abundance still, and still the want does last.
 The 'Treasures of the Gods thou wouldst not spare,
 But when they'r made thine own, they Sacred are,
 And must be kept with reverence, as if thou
 No other use of precious Gold didst know, 30
 But that of curious Pictures to delight
 With the fair stamp thy *Virtuoso* sight.

The only true, and genuine use is this,
 To buy the things which *Nature* cannot miss
 Without discomfort, Oyl, and vital Bread,
 And Wine by which the Life of Life is fed.
 And all those few things else by which we live ;
 All that remains is Giv'n for thee to Give ;
 If Cares and Troubles, Envy, Grief and Fear,
 The bitter Fruits be, which fair Riches bear,
 If a new Poverty grow out of store ;
 10 The old plain way, ye Gods, let me be Poor.

*A Paraphrase on an Ode in Horace's third Book,
 beginning thus, Inclusam Danaen turris ahenea.*

A Tower of Brass, one would have said,
 And Locks, and Bolts, and Iron bars,
 And Guards, as strict as in the heat of wars,
 Might have preserv'd one Innocent Maiden-head.
 The jealous Father thought he well might spare,
 All further jealous Care,
 And as he walkt, t' himself alone he smil'd,
 20 To think how *Venus* Arts he had beguil'd ;
 And when he slept, his rest was deep,
 But *Venus* laugh'd to see and hear him sleep.
 She taught the Amorous *Jove*
 A Magical receit in Love,
 Which arm'd him stronger, and which help'd him
 more,
 Than all his Thunder did, and his Almighty-ship
 before.

2.

She taught him Loves Elixar, by which Art,
 His Godhead into Gold he did convert,
 No Guards did then his passage stay,
 He pass'd with ease ; Gold was the Word ;
 Subtle as Lightning, bright and quick and fierce,
 Gold through Doors and Walls did pierce ;
 And as that works sometimes upon the sword,
 Melted the Maiden-head away,
 Even in the secret scabbard where it lay.
 The Prudent *Macedonian* King, 10
 To blow up Towns, a Golden Mine did spring.
 He broke through Gates with this *Petar*,
 'Tis the great Art of Peace, the Engine 'tis of War ;
 And Fleets and Armies follow it afar,
 The Ensign 'tis at Land, and 'tis the Seamans Star.

3.

Let all the World, slave to this Tyrant be,
 Creature to this Disguised Deitie,
 Yet it shall never conquer me.
 A Guard of Virtues will not let it pass,
 And wisdom is a Tower of stronger brass. 20
 The Muses Lawrel round my Temples spread,
 'T does from this Lightnings force secure my head.
 Nor will I lift it up so high,
 As in the violent Meteors way to lye.
 Wealth for its power do we honour and adore ?
 The things we hate, ill Fate, and Death, have more.

4.

From Towns and Courts, Camps of the Rich and Great,
 The vast *Xerxean* Army I retreat,

And to the small Laconick forces fly,
 Which hold the straights of Poverty.
 Sellars and Granaries in vain we fill,
 With all the bounteous Summers store,
 If the Mind thirst and hunger still.
 The poor rich Man's emphatically poor.
 Slaves to the things we too much prize,
 We Masters grow of all that we despise.

5.

A Field of Corn, a Fountain and a Wood,
 10 Is all the Wealth by Nature understood.
 The Monarch on whom fertile *Nile* bestows
 All which that grateful Earth can bear,
 Deceives himse(1)f, if he suppose
 That more than this falls to his share.
 Whatever an Estate does beyond this afford,
 Is not a rent paid to the Lord ;
 But is a Tax illegal and unjust,
 Exacted from it by the Tyrant Lust.
 Much will always wanting be,
 20 To him who much desires. Thrice happy He
 To whom the wise indulgency of Heaven,
 With sparing hand, but just enough has given.

⟨8.⟩ *The dangers of an Honest man in
 much Company.*

If twenty thousand naked *Americans* were not
 able to resist the assaults of but twenty well-armed
Spaniards, I see little possibility for one Honest man

to defend himself against twenty thousand Knaves, who are all furnisht *Cap a pe*, with the defensive arms of worldly prudence, and the offensive too of craft and malice. He will find no less odds than this against him, if he have much to do in humane affairs. The only advice therefore which I can give him, is, to be sure not to venture his person any longer in the open Campagn, to retreat and entrench himself, to stop up all Avenues, and draw up all bridges against so numerous an Enemy. The truth of it is, ¹⁰ that a man in much business must either make himself a Knave, or else the world will make him a Fool: and if the injury went no farther then the being laugh at, a wise man would content himself with the revenge of retaliation; but the case is much worse, for these civil *Cannibals* too, as well as the wild ones, not only dance about such a taken stranger, but at last devour him. A sober man cannot get too soon out of drunken company, though they be never so kind and merry among themselves, 'tis not unpleasant only, but dan- ²⁰ gerous to him. Do ye wonder that a vertuous man should love to be alone? It is hard for him to be otherwise; he is so, when he is among ten thousand: neither is the Solitude so uncomfortable to be alone without any other creature, as it is to be alone, in the midst of wild Beasts. Man is to man all kinde of Beasts, a fauning Dog, a roaring Lion, a theiving Fox, a robbing Wolf, a dissembling Crocodile, a treacherous Decoy, and a rapacious Vulture. The civilest, me-thinks, of all Nations, are those whom we account ³⁰ the most barbarous, there is some moderation and good Nature in the *Toupinambaltians* who eat no men

but their Enemies, whilst we learned and polite and Christian *Europeans*, like so many Pikes and Sharks prey upon every thing that we can swallow. It is the great boast of Eloquence and Philosophy, that they first congregated men disperst, united them into Societies, and built up the Houses and the walls of Cities. I wish they could unravel all they had wooven; that we might have our Woods and our Innocence again instead of our Castles and our Policies. They
 10 have assembled many thousands of scattered people into one body: 'tis true, they have done so, they have brought them together into Cities, to cozen, and into Armies to murder one another: They found them Hunters and Fishers of wild creatures, they have made them Hunters and Fishers of their Brethren; they boast to have reduced them to a State of Peace, when the truth is, they have only taught them an Art of War; they have framed, I must confess, wholesome laws for the restraint of Vice, but they rais'd first
 20 that Devil which now they Conjure and cannot Bind; though there were before no punishments for wickedness, yet there was less committed because there were no Rewards for it. But the men who praise Philosophy from this Topick are much deceived; let Oratory answer for it self, the tinckling perhaps of that may unite a Swarm: it never was the work of Philosophy to assemble multitudes, but to regulate onely, and govern them when they were assembled, to make the best of an evil, and bring them, as much
 30 as is possible, to Unity again. Avarice and Ambition only were the first Builders of Towns, and Founders of Empire; They said, *Go to, let us build us a City and*

a Tower whose top may reach unto heaven, and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the Earth. *Gen. 11. 4.* What was the beginning of *Rome*, the *Metropolis* of all the World? what was it, but a concourse of Theives, and a Sanctuary of Criminals? it was justly named by the *Augury* of no less than twelve Vultures, and the Founder cimented his walls with the blood of his Brother; not unlike to this was the beginning even of the first Town too in the world, and such is the Original sin of most 10 Cities: their Actual encrease daily with their Age and growth; the more people, the more wicked all of them; every one brings in his part to enflame the contagion, which becomes at last so universal and so strong, that no Precepts can be sufficient Preservatives, nor any thing secure our safety, but flight from among the Infected. We ought in the choice of a Scituation to regard above all things the Healthfulness of the place, and the healthfulness of it for the Mind rather than for the Body. But suppose (which 20 is hardly to be supposed) we had Antidote enough against this Poison; nay, suppose farther, we were alwaies and at all pieces armed and provided both against the Assaults of Hostility, and the Mines of Treachery, 'twill yet be but an uncomfortable life to be ever in Alarms, though we were compast round with Fire, to defend ourselves from wild Beasts, the Lodging would be unpleasant, because we must always be obliged to watch that fire, and to fear no less the defects of our Guard, then the diligences of our 30 Enemy. The summe of this is, that a virtuous man is in danger to be trod upon and destroyed in the

crowd of his Contraries, nay, which is worse, to be changed and corrupted by them, and that 'tis impossible to escape both these inconveniences without so much caution, as will take away the whole Quiet, that is, the Happiness of his Life. Ye see then, what he may lose, but, I pray, What can he get there? *Quid Romæ faciam? Mentiri nescio.* What should a man of truth and honesty do at Rome? *Juv. Sat. 3.* he can neither understand, nor speak the Language
 10 of the place; a naked man may swim in the Sea, but 'tis not the way to catch Fish there; they are likelier to devour him, then he them, if he bring no Nets, and use no Deceits. I think therefore it was wise and friendly advice which *Martial* gave to *Fabian*, *Mart. L. 3.* when he met him newly arrived at *Rome*.

Honest and Poor, faithful in word and thought;
 What has thee, *Fabian*, to the City brought?
 Thou neither the Buffoon, nor Bawd canst play,
 Nor with false whispers th' Innocent betray:
 20 Nor corrupt Wives, nor from rich Beldams get
 A living by thy industry and sweat;
 Nor with vain promises and projects cheat,
 Nor Bribe or Flatter any of the Great.
 But you'r a Man of Learning, prudent, just;
 A Man of Courage, firm, and fit for trust.
 Why you may stay, and live unenvyed here;
 But (faith) go back, and keep you where you
 were.

Nay, if nothing of all this were in the case, yet the
 30 very sight of Uncleanliness is loathsome to the Cleanly;

the sight of Folly and Impiety vexatious to the Wise and Pious.

Lucretius, by his favour, though a good Poet ; was but an ill-natur'd Man, when he said, It was
 delightful to see other Men in a great storm: Lucr. Lib. 2.

And no less ill-natur'd should I think *Democritus*, who laught at all the World, but that he retired himself so much out of it, that we may perceive he took no great pleasure in that kind of Mirth. I have been drawn twice or thrice by company to go to *Bedlam*,¹⁰ and have seen others very much delighted with the fantastical extravagancie of so many various madneses, which upon me wrought so contrary an effect, that I alwayes returned, not onely melancholy, but ev'n sick with the sight. My compassion there was perhaps too tender, for I meet a thousand Madmen abroad, without any perturbation ; though, to weigh the matter justly, the total loss of Reason is less deplorable then the total depravation of it. An exact Judge of human blessings, of Riches, Honours, Beauty,²⁰ even of Wit it self, should pity the abuse of them more then the want.

Briefly, though a wise man could pass never so securely through the great Roads of human Life, yet he will meet perpetually with so many objects and occasions of compassion, grief, shame, anger, hatred, indignation, and all passions but envy (for he will find nothing to deserve that) that he had better strike into some private path ; nay, go so far, if he could, out of the common way, *Vt nec facta audiat Pelopidarum* ;³⁰ that he might not so much as hear of the actions of the Sons of *Adam*. But, Whither shall

we flye then? into the Deserts, like the antient Hermites?

Qua terra patet fera regnat Erynnis, Metam. i.
In facinus jurasse putes.

One would think that all Mankind had bound themselves by an Oath to do all the wickedness they can; that they had all (as the Scripture speaks) sold themselves to Sin: the difference onely is, that some are a little more crafty (and but a little God knows) in
 10 making of the bargain. I thought when I went first to dwell in the Country, that without doubt I should have met there with the simplicity of the old Poetical Golden Age: I thought to have found no Inhabitants there, but such as the Shepherds of Sir *Phil. Sydney* in *Arcadia*, or of *Monsieur d'Vrfe* upon the Banks of *Lignon*; and began to consider with my self, which way I might recommend no less to Posterity the Happiness and Innocence of the Men of *Chertsea*:
 20 but to confess the truth, I perceived quickly, by infallible demonstrations, that I was still in Old *England*, and not in *Arcadia*, or *La Forrest*; that if I could not content my self with any thing less then exact Fidelity in human conversation, I had almost as good go back and seek for it in the Court, or the Exchange, or Westminster-Hall. I ask again then Whither shall we fly, or what shall we do? The World may so come in a Mans way, that he cannot choose but Salute it, he must take heed though not to go a whoring after it. If by any lawful Vocation, or just necessity

men happen to be Married to it, I can onely give them
St. Pauls advice. *Brethren, the time is*
short, it remains that they that have Wives 1 Cor. 7. 29.
be as though they had none. But I would
that all Men were even as I my self. Verse 7.

In all cases they must be sure that they do *Mundum ducere*, and not *Mundo nubere*. They must retain the Superiority and Headship over it: Happy are they who can get out of the sight of this Deceitful Beauty, that they may not be led so much as into Temptation; 10 who have not onely quitted the Metropolis, but can abstain from ever seeing the next Market Town or their Country.

Claudian's Old Man of Verona.

Happy the Man, who his whole time doth bound
 Within th' enclosure of his little ground.
 Happy the Man, whom the same humble place,
 (Th' hereditary Cottage of his Race)
 From his first rising infancy has known,
 And by degrees sees gently bending down, 20
 With natural propension to that Earth
 Which both preserv'd his Life, and gave him birth.
 Him no false distant lights by fortune set,
 Could ever into foolish wandrings get.
 He never dangers either saw, or fear'd:
 The dreadful stormes at Sea he never heard.
 He never heard the shrill allarms of War,
 Or the worse noises of the Lawyers Bar.
 No change of Consuls marks to him the year,
 The change of seasons is his Calendar. 30

The Cold and Heat, Winter and Summer shows,
 Autumn by Fruits, and Spring by Flow'rs he knows.
 He measures Time by Land-marks, and has found
 For the whole day the Dial of his ground.
 A neighbouring Wood born with himself he sees,
 And loves his old contemporary Trees.
 H'as only heard of near *Verona's* Name,
 And knows it like the *Indies*, but by Fame.
 Does with a like concernment notice take
 10 Of the Red-Sea, and of *Benacus* Lake.
 Thus Health and Strength he to' a third age enjoys,
 And sees a long Posterity of Boys.
 About the spacious World let others roam,
 The Voyage Life is longest made at home.

9. *The shortness of Life and uncertainty of Riches.*

If you should see a man who were to cross from
Dover to *Calais*, run about very busie and sollicitous,
 and trouble himselfe many weeks before in making
 20 provisions for his voyage, would you commend him
 for a cautious and discreet person, or laugh at him
 for a timerous and impertinent Coxcomb? A man
 who is excessive in his pains and diligence, and who
 consumes the greatest part of his time in furnishing
 the remainder with all conveniencies and even super-
 fluities, is to Angels and wise men no less ridiculous ;
 he does as little consider the shortness of his passage
 that he might proportion his cares accordingly. It is,
 alas, so narrow a streight betwixt the Womb and the

Grave, that it might be called the *Pas de Vie*, as well as that the *Pas de Calais*. We are all Ἐφήμεροι (as *Pindar* calls us) Creatures of a day, and therefore our Saviour bounds our desires to that little space ; as if it were very probable that every day should be our last, we are taught to demand even Bread for no longer a time. The Sun ought not to set upon our Covetousness no more then upon our Anger, but as to God Almighty a thousand years are as one day, so in direct opposition, one day to the covetous man is 10 as a thousand years ; *Tam brevi fortis jaculatur ævo multa*, so far he shoots beyond his Butt : One would think he were of the opinion of the *Millenaries*, and hoped for so long a Reign upon Earth. The Patriarchs before the Flood, who enjoy'd almost such a Life, made, we are sure, less stores for the maintaining of it ; they who lived Nine hundred years scarcely provided for a few days ; we who live but a few days, provide at least for Nine hundred years ; what a strange alteration is this of Humane Life and 20 Manners ? and yet we see an imitation of it in every mans particular experience, for we begin not the cares of Life till it be half spent, and still encrease them as that decreases. What is there among the actions of Beasts so illogical and repugnant to Reason ? when they do any thing which seems to proceed from that which we call Reason, we disdain to allow them that perfection, and attribute it only to a Natural Instinct ; and are not we Fools too by the same kind of Instinct ? If we could but learn to number our days 30 (as we are taught to pray that we might) we should adjust much better our other accounts, but whilst we

never consider an end of them, it is no wonder if our cares for them be without end too. *Horace* advises very wisely, and in excellent good words, *spacio brevi spem longam reseces*, From a short Life cut off all Hopes that grow too long. They must be pruned away like suckers that choak the Mother-Plant, and hinder it from bearing fruit. And in another place to the same sence, *Vitæ summa brevis spem nos vetat inc(h)oare longam*, which *Seneca* does not mend when
 10 he says, *Oh quanta dementia est spes longas inchoantium!* but he gives an example there of an acquaintance of his named *Senecio*, who from a very mean beginning by great industry in turning about of Money through all ways of gain, had attained to extraordinary Riches but died on a suddain after, having supped merrily, *In ipso actu bene cedentium rerum, in ipso procurrentis fortunæ impetu*, In the full course of his good Fortune, when she had a high Tide and a stiff Gale and all her Sails on ; upon which occasion he cries, out of *Virgil*

20 *Insere nunc Melibæe pyros, pone ordine vites,*

Go *Melibæus*, now,

Go graff thy Orchards and thy Vineyards plant ;

Behold the Fruit !

For this *Senecio* I have no compassion, because he was taken as we say, in *ipso facto*, still labouring in the work of Avarice, but the poor rich man in *St. Luke* (whose case was not like this) I could pity, methinks, if the Scripture would permit me, for he seems to

8 *Vitæ W.* : *Vita* 1668.

20 *Melibæe W.* : *Melibæe* 1668.

21 *Melibæus W.* : *Melibæus* 1668.

have been satisfied at last, he confesses he had enough for many years, he bids his soul take its ease, and yet for all that, God says to him, *Thou Fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee*, and the Luk. 12. 20. things thou hast laid up, whom shall they belong to? where shall we find the causes of this bitter Reproach and terrible Judgement? we may find, I think, Two, and God perhaps saw more. First, that he did not intend true Rest to his Soul, but only to change the employments of it from Avarice to Luxury, his design ¹⁰ is to eat and to drink, and to be merry. Secondly, that he went on too long before he thought of resting; the fulness of his old Barns had not sufficed him, he would stay till he was forced to build new ones; and God meeted out to him in the same measure; Since he would have more Riches than his Life could contain, God destroy'd his Life and gave the Fruits of it to another.

Thus God takes away sometimes the Man from his Riches, and no less frequently Riches from the Man; ²⁰ what hope can there be of such a Marriage, where both parties are so fickle and uncertain? by what Bonds can such a couple be kept long together?

1.

Why dost thou heap up Wealth, which thou must quit,
 Or, what is worse, be left by it?
 Why dost thou load thy self, when thou'rt to flie,
 Oh Man ordain'd to die?

2.

Why dost thou build up stately Rooms on high,
 Thou who art under Ground to lie?

Thou Sow'st and Plantest, but no Fruit must see,
For Death, alas ! is sowing Thee.

3.

Suppose, thou Fortune couldst to tameness bring,
And clip or pinion her wing ;
Suppose thou couldst on Fate so far prevail
As not to cut off thy Entail.

4.

Yet Death at all that subtilty will laugh,
Death will that foolish Gardner mock,
Who does a slight and annual Plant engraft,
10 Upon a lasting stock.

5.

Thou dost thy self Wise and Industrious deem ;
A mighty Husband thou wouldst seem ;
Fond Man ! like a bought slave, thou all the while
Dost but for others Sweat and Toil.

6.

Officious Fool ! that needs must meddling be
In business that concerns not thee !
For when to Future years thou' extendst thy cares
Thou deal'st in other mens affairs.

7.

Even aged men, as if they truly were
20 Children again, for Age prepare,
Provisions for long travail they design,
In the last point of their short Line.

8.

Wisely the Ant against poor Winter hoords
The stock which Summers wealth affords,
In Grasshoppers that must at Autumn die,
How vain were such an Industry?

9.

Of Power and Honour the deceitful Light
Might halfe excuse our cheated sight,
If it of Life the whole small time would stay,
And be our Sun-shine all the day,

10.

Like Lightning that, begot but in a Cloud
(Though shining bright, and speaking loud) 10
Whilst it begins, concludes its violent Race,
And where it Guilds, it wounds the place.

11.

Oh Scene of Fortune, which dost fair appear,
Only to men that stand not near!
Proud Poverty, that Tinsel brav'ry wears!
And, like a Rainbow, Painted Tears!

12.

Be prudent, and the shore in prospect keep,
In a weak Boat trust not the deep.
Plac'd beneath Envy, above envying rise;
Pity Great Men, Great Things despise. 20

13.

The wise example of the Heavenly Lark,
Thy Fellow-Poet, *Cowley* mark,
Above the Clouds let thy proud Musique sound,
Thy humble Nest build on the Ground.

10. The danger of Procrastination.

A Letter to Mr. S. L.

I AM glad that you approve and applaud my design, of withdrawing my self from all tumult and business of the world ; and consecrating the little rest of my time to those studies, to which Nature had so Motherly inclined me, and from which Fortune, like a Step-mother has so long detained me. But nevertheless (you say, which, *But*, is *Ærugo mera*, a rust
 10 which spoils the good Metal it grows upon. But *Horat.* you say) you would advise me not to precipitate that resolution, but to stay a while longer with patience and complaisance, till I had gotten such an Estate as might afford me (according to the saying of that person whom you and I love very much, and would believe as soon as another man) *Cum dignitate otium*. This were excellent advice to *Josua*, who could bid the Sun stay too. But there's no fooling with Life when it is once turn'd beyond Forty. The seeking
 20 for a Fortune then, is but a desperate After-game, 'tis a hundred to one, if a man fling two Sixes and recover all ; especially, if his hand be no luckier than mine. There is some help for all the defects of Fortune, for if a man cannot attain to the length of his wishes, he may have his Remedy by cutting of them shorter. *Epicurus* writes a Letter to *Idomeneus* (who was then a very powerful, wealthy, and (it seems) bountiful

person) to recommend to Him who had made so many men Rich, one *Pythocles*, a friend of his, whom he desired might be made a rich man too ; But I intreat you that you would not do it just the same way as you have done to many less deserving persons, but in the most Gentlemanly manner of obliging him, which is not to adde any thing to his Estate, but to take something from his desires. The summ of this is, That for the uncertain hopes of some Conveniences we ought not to defer the execution of a work that is ¹⁰ Necessary, especially, when the use of those things which we would stay for, may otherwise be supplied, but the loss of time, never recovered : Nay, farther yet, though we were sure to obtain all that we had a mind to, though we were sure of getting never so much by continuing the Game, yet when the light of Life is so near going out, and ought to be so precious, *Le]jeu ne vaut pas la Chandele*, The play is not worth the expence of the Candle : after having been long tost in a Tempest, if our Masts be standing, and we ²⁰ have still Sail and Tackling enough to carry us to our Port, it is no matter for the want of Streamers and Top-Gallants ; *Vtere velis, Totos pande sinus*. A Gentleman in our late Civil Wars, when his Quarters were beaten up by the Enemy, was taken Prisoner, and lost his life afterwards, only by staying to put on a Band, and adjust his Periwig : He would escape like a person of quality, or not at all, and dyed the noble Martyr of Ceremony, and Gentility. I think your counsel of *Festina lente* is as ill to a man who ³⁰ is flying from the world, as it would have been to that unfortunate wel-bred Gentleman, who was so

cautious as not to fly undecently from his Enemies, and therefore I prefer *Horace's* advice before yours.

—*Sapere Aude, Incipe*—

Begin ; the Getting out of doors is the *Libr. 1*
greatest part of the Journey. *Varro* teaches *Agric.*
us that *Latin Proverb*, *Portam itineri longissimam*
esse : But to return to *Horace*,

—*Sapere aude,*
Incipe, vivendi qui recte prorogat horam
10 *Rusticus expectat dum labitur Amnis, at ille*
Labitur, & labetur in omne volubilis ævum.

Begin, be bold, and venture to be wise ;
He who defers this work from day to day,
Does on a Rivers Bank expecting stay,
Till the whole stream, which stopt him, should be
gon,
That runs, and as it runs, forever will run on.

Cæsar (the man of Expedition above all others)
was so far from this Folly, that whensoever, in a
20 journey he was to cross any River, he never went
one foot out of his way for a Bridge, or a Foord, or
a Ferry, but flung himself into it immediately, and
swam over ; and this is the course we ought to imitate,
if we meet with any stops in our way to Happiness.
Stay till the waters are low, stay till some Boats
come by to transport you, stay till a Bridge be built
for you ; You had even as good stay till the River
be quite past. *Persius* (who, you use to say, you do
not know whether he be a good Poet or no, because

you cannot understand him, and whom therefore (I say) I know to be not a good Poet) has an odd expression of these Procrastinators, which, methinks, is full of Fancy.

*Jam Cras Hesternum consumpsimus, Ecce
aliud Cras* *Pers.
Satyr. 5.*
Egerit hos annos.

Our Yesterdays To morrow now is gone,
And still a new Tomorrow does come on,
We by Tomorrows draw up all our store, 10
Till the exhausted Well can yield no more.

And now, I think, I am even with you, for your *Otium cum dignitate*, and *Festina lente*, and three or four other more of your New Latine Sentences: if I should draw upon you all my forces out of *Seneca* and *Plutarch* upon this subject, I should overwhelm you, but I leave those as Triary for your next charge. I shall only give you now a light skirmish out of an Epigrammatist, your special good Friend, and so,
Vale. 20

Mart. Lib. 5. Epigr. 59.

To morrow you will Live, you always cry;
In what far Country does this morrow lye,
That 'tis so mighty long 'ere it arrive?
Beyond the *Indies* does this Morrow live?
'Tis so far fetcht this Morrow, that I fear
'Twill be both very Old and very Dear.
To morrow I will live, the Fool does say;
To Day it self's too Late, the wise liv'd Yesterday.

Mart. Lib. 2. Ep. 90.

- Wonder not, Sir (you who instruct the Town
 In the true Wisdom of the Sacred Gown)
 That I make haste to live, and cannot hold
 Patiently out, till I grow Rich and Old.
 Life for Delays and Doubts no time does give,
 None ever yet, made Haste enough to Live.
 Let him defer it, whose preposterous care
 Omits himself, and reaches to his Heir.
- 10 Who does his Fathers bounded stores despise,
 And whom his own too never can suffice:
 My humble thoughts no glittering roofs require,
 Or Rooms that shine with ought but constant Fire.
 I well content the Avarice of my sight
 With the fair guildings of reflected Light:
 Pleasures abroad, the sport of Nature yeilds
 Her living Fountains, and her smiling Fields:
 And then at home, wha(t) pleasure is't to see
 A little cleanly chearful Familie?
- 20 Which if a chast Wife crown, no less in Her
 Then Fortune, I the Golden Mean prefer.
 Too noble, nor too wise, she should not be,
 No, not too Rich, too Fair, too fond of me.
 Thus let my life slide silently away,
 With Sleep all Night, and Quiet all the Day.

11. *Of My self.*

It is a hard and nice Subject for a man to write of himself, it grates his own heart to say any thing of disparagement, and the Readers Eares to hear any

thing of praise from him. There is no danger from me of offending him in this kind ; neither my Mind, nor my Body, nor my Fortune, allow me any materials for that Vanity. It is sufficient, for my own contentment, that they have preserved me from being scandalous, or remarkable on the defective side. But besides that, I shall here speak of myself, only in relation to the subject of these precedent discourses, and shall be likelier thereby to fall into the contempt, then rise up to the estimation of most people. As far ¹⁰ as my Memory can return back into my past Life, before I knew, or was capable of guessing what the world, or glories, or business of it were, the natural affections of my soul gave me a secret bent of aversion from them, as some Plants are said to turn away from others, by an Antipathy imperceptible to themselves, and inscrutable to mans understanding. Even when I was a very young Boy at School, instead of running about on Holy-daies and playing with my fellows ; I was wont to steal from them, and walk into the ²⁰ fields, either alone with a Book, or with some one Companion, if I could find any of the same temper. I was then too, so much an Enemy to all constraint, that my Masters could never prevail on me, by any perswasions or encouragements, to learn without Book the common rules of Grammar, in which they dispensed with me alone, because they found I made a shift to do the usual exercise out of my own reading and observation. That I was then of the same mind as I am now (which I confess, I wonder at my self, ³⁰ may appear by the latter end of an Ode, which I made when I was but thirteen years old, and which was

then printed with many other Verses. The Beginning of it is Boyish, but of this part which I here set down (if a very little were corrected) I should hardly now be much ashamed.

9.

This only grant me, that my means may lye
Too low for Envy, for Contempt too high.

Some Honor I would have
Not from great deeds, but good alone.
The unknown are better than ill known.

10 Rumour can ope' the Grave,
Acquaintance I would have, but when 't depends
Not on the number, but the choice of Friends.

10.

Books should, not business entertain the Light,
And sleep, as undisturb'd as Death, the Night.

My House a Cottage, more
Then Palace, and should fitting be
For all my Use, no Luxury.

My Garden painted o're
With Natures hand, not Arts ; and pleasures yeild,
20 *Horace* might envy in his Sabine field.

11.

Thus would I double my Lifes fading space,
For he that runs it well, twice runs his race.

And in this true delight,
These unbought sports, this happy State,
I would not fear nor wish my fate,
But boldly say each night,
To morrow let my Sun his beams display,
Or in clouds hide them ; I have liv'd to Day.

You may see by it, I was even then acquainted with the Poets (for the Conclusion is taken out of *Horace*;) and perhaps it was the immature and immoderate love of them which stamp't first, or rather engraved these Characters in me: They were like Letters cut into the Bark of a young Tree, which with the Tree still grow proportionably. But, how this love came to be produced in me so early, is a hard question: I believe I can tell the particular little chance that filled my head first with such Chimes of 10 Verse, as have never since left ringing there: For I remember when I began to read, and to take some pleasure in it, there was wont to lie in my Mothers Parlour (I know not by what accident, for she herself never in her life read any Book but of Devotion) but there was wont to lie *Spencers Works*; this I happened to fall upon, and was infinitely delighted with the Stories of the Knights, and Giants, and Monsters, and brave Houses, which I found every where there: (Though my understanding had little to 20 do with all this) and by degrees with the tinckling of the Rhyme and Dance of the Numbers, so that I think I had read him all over before I was twelve years old, and was thus made a Poet as irremediably as a Child is made an Eunuch. With these affections of mind, and my heart wholly set upon Letters, I went to the University; But was soon torn from thence by that violent Publick storm which would

24 irremediably] So 1668, altered in Errata to immediately. The alteration weakens the sense, for Cowley represents his poetic vocation as a stroke of destiny, and from one point of view as a real misfortune.

suffer nothing to stand where it did, but rooted up every Plant, even from the Princely Cedars to Me, the Hyssop. Yet I had as good fortune as could have befallen me in such a Tempest ; for I was cast by it into the Family of one of the best Persons, and into the Court of one of the best Princesses of the World. Now though I was here engaged in wayes most contrary to the Original design of my life, that is, into much company, and no small business, and
10 into a daily sight of Greatness, both Militant and Triumphant (for that was the state then of the *English* and *French* Courts) yet all this was so far from altering my Opinion, that it onely added the confirmation of Reason to that which was before but Natural Inclination. I saw plainly all the Paint of that kind of Life, the nearer I came to it ; and that Beauty which I did not fall in Love with, when, for ought I knew, it was reall, was not like to bewitch, or intice me, when I saw that it was Adulterate. I met with several great
20 Persons, whom I liked very well, but could not perceive that any part of their Greatness was to be liked or desired, no more then I would be glad, or content to be in a Storm, though I saw many Ships which rid safely and bravely in it : A storm would not agree with my stomach, if it did with my Courage. Though I was in a croud of as good company as could be found any where, though I was in business of great and honourable trust, though I eate at the best Table, and enjoyed the best conveniences for present
30 subsistance that ought to be desired by a man of my condition in banishment and publick distresses ; yet I could not abstain from renewing my old

School-boys Wish in a Copy of Verses to the same effect.

Well then ; I now do plainly see
This busie World and I shall ne're agree, &c.

And I never then proposed to my self any other advantage from His Majesties Happy Restoration, but the getting into some moderately convenient Retreat in the Country, which I thought in that case I might easily have compassed, as well as some others, with no greater probabilities or pretences ¹⁰ have arrived to extraordinary fortunes : But I had before written a shrewd Prophesie against my self, and I think *Apollo* inspired me in the Truth, though not in the Elegance of it.

Thou, neither great at Court nor in the War, *Pindar. Od.*
Nor at th' Exchange shal't be, nor at the *Destiny.*

wrangling Barr ;
Content thy self with the small barren praise
Which neglected Verse does raise, &c.

However by the failing of the Forces which I had ²⁰ expected, I did not quit the Design which I had resolved on, I cast my self into it *A Corps Perdu*, without making capitulations, or taking counsel of Fortune. But God laughs at a Man, who sayes to his Soul, *Take thy ease* : I met presently not onely with many little encumbrances and impediments, but with so much sickness (a new misfortune to me) as would have spoiled the happiness of an Emperour as well as Mine : Yet I do neither repent nor alter my course.

· *Non ego perfidum Dixi Sacramentum* ; Nothing shall separate me from a Mistress, which I have loved so long, and have now at last married ; though she neither has brought me a rich Portion, nor lived yet so quietly with me as I hoped from Her.

———— *Nec vos, dulcissima mundi
Nomina, vos Musæ, Libertas, Otia, Libri,
Hortique Sylvæq; anima remanente relinquam.*

Nor by me ere shall you,
10 You of all Names the sweetest, and the best,
You Muses, Books, and Liberty and Rest ;
You Gardens, Fields, and Woods forsaken be,
As long as Life it self forsakes not Me.

But this is a very petty Ejaculation ; because I have concluded all the other Chapters with a Copy of Verses, I will maintain the Humour to the last.

Martial. L. 10. Ep. 47.

Vitam quæ faciunt beatioorem, &c.

SINCE, dearest Friend, 'tis your desire to see
20 A true Receipt of Happiness from Me ;
These are the chief Ingredients, if not all ;
Take an Estate neither too great nor small,
Which *Quantum Sufficit* the Doctors call.
Let this Estate from Parents care descend ;
The getting it too much of Life does spend.

Take such a Ground, whose gratitude may be
 A fair Encouragement for Industry.
 Let constant Fires the Winters fury tame ;
 And let thy Kitchens be a Vestal Flame.
 Thee to the Town let never Suit at Law ;
 And rarely, very rarely Business draw.
 Thy active Mind in equal Temper keep,
 In undisturbed Peace, yet not in sleep.
 Let Exercise a vigorous Health maintain,
 Without which all the Composition's vain. 10
 In the same weight Prudence and Innocence take,
Ana of each does the just mixture make.
 But a few Friendships wear, and let them be
 By Nature and by Fortune fit for thee.
 In stead of Art and Luxury in food,
 Let Mirth and Freedome make thy Table good.
 If any cares into thy Day-time creep,
 At night, without Wines Opium, let them sleep.
 Let rest, which Nature does to Darkness wed,
 And not Lust, recommend to thee thy Bed, 20
 Be satisfi'd, and pleas'd with what thou art ;
 Act chearfully and well th' allotted part,
 Enjoy the present Hour, be thankful for the Past,
 And neither fear, nor wish th' approaches of the last.

Martial Book 10. Epigram 96.

ME who have liv'd so long among the great,
 You wonder to hear talk of a Retreat :
 And a retreat so distant, as may show
 No thoughts of a return when once I go.

Give me a Country, how remote so e're,
 Where happiness a mod'rate rate does bear,
 Where poverty it self in plenty flowes,
 And all the solid use of Riches knowes.
 The ground about the house maintains it there,
 The House maintains the ground about it here.
 Here even Hunger's dear, and a full board,
 Devours the vital substance of the Lord.
 The Land it self does there the feast bestow,
 10 The Land it self must here to Market go.
 Three or four suits one Winter here does wast,
 One suit does there three or four winters last.
 Here every frugal Man must oft be cold,
 And little Luke-warm-fires are to you sold.
 There Fire's an Element as cheap and free
 Almost as any of the other Three.
 Stay you then here, and live among the Great,
 Attend their sports, and at their tables eat.
 When all the bounties here of Men you score:
 20 The Places bounty there, shall give me more.

Epitaphium Vivi Auctoris.

Hic, O Viator, sub Lare parvulo
Couleius Hic est Conditus, Hic Jacet;
Defunctus humani Laboris
Sorte, supervacuâque vitâ.
Non Indecorâ pauperie Nitens,
Et Non inertis nobilis otio,
Vanôque dilectis popello
Divitiis animosus hostis.

*Possis ut illum dicere mortuum ;
En Terra jam nunc Quantula sufficit ?
Exempta sit Curis, viator,
Terra sit illa Levis, precare.
Hic sparge Flores, sparge breves Rosas,
Nam vita gaudet Mortua Floribus,
Herbisque Odoratis Corona
Vatis adhuc Cinerem Calentem.*

NOTES

THE PREFACE TO THE POEMS

The text follows the first edition, published in 1656. The title of the work is as follows.

P O E M S :

- Viz. { I. MISCELLANIES.
II. *The Miftref's, or, Love Verses.*
III. PINDARIQUE ODES

And IV.

Davideis,

OR, A

S A C R E D P O E M

OF THE

T R O U B L E S

OF

D A V I D.

Written by A. COWLEY.

VIRG. GEORG. 3

- - *Tentanda via est quæ me quoq; possim
Tollere humo, victorq; virum volitare per ora.*

LONDON,

Printed for Humphrey Moseley, at the Prince's
Arms in St Pauls Church-yard, M.DC.LVI.

A dedicatory epistle to the University of Cambridge in Latin elegiacs is prefixed.

Some account of the circumstances under which the volume was produced, and of its contents, will be found in the preface itself, and in the Introduction, pp. xvi-xviii.

PAGE 1. 3. *my return*. Cowley returned from his first sojourn in France in 1655.

6. *The Iron Age*. The fourth part of a worthless satire, called *The four Ages of England*, published in Cowley's name in 1648.

21. *justified by the Imputation even of anothers Merit*. A person is injured even if good poems by another are fathered upon him, because they misrepresent his character. The phrase is borrowed from Puritan theology, which, following St. Paul and Calvin, teaches that the sinner is justified by the imputation to him of the merit of Christ.

22. *course*. The adj. *coarse* is an abbreviation of 'in course' or 'of course', in the sense of 'ordinary'.

23. *those of another mans*. This apparently redundant possessive may be explained as a partitive, i.e. 'the clothes of another man's wardrobe', or it may be analogous to the use of the possessive pronoun with *of*, in which a partitive sense is often impossible, e.g. 'these hands of mine'. Cf. Kellner's *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, §§ 178-80.

PAGE 2. 2. *the malice of Witches*. An allusion to the magical practice of making a waxen image of a person, and stabbing it with pins or melting it before a fire, in the belief that the person thus bewitched will suffer sympathetically.

13. *The Guardian*. See p. 99 and note; also p. viii.

22. *which, I confess, was somewhat of the latest*. 'And this, I admit, was a rather late date for a revision'. The relative belongs to the whole preceding phrase. For the idiom cf. Jonson, *Every Man in His Humour*, 1 ad fin.:

'Bobadill. What money ha' you about you, Master Matthew?

Mat. Faith, I ha' not past a two shillings, or so.

Bob. 'Tis somewhat with the least.'

24. *the Poet and the Souldier*. The poet in *The Guardian* is Dogrel, 'a sharking Poetaster', and an associate of Cutter. His place is taken in *Cutter of Colcman Street* by Worm, a pretended Captain. The soldier can only have been Cutter himself, which shows that this amended version of *The Guardian* was not identical with the play which bears his name.

30. *humane conversation*. 'Social intercourse'. The

forms *humane* and *human* were not differentiated till the eighteenth century.

PAGE 3. 9. *Allay*. The older form of *alloy*; Anglo-French *alay* = Old Fr. *aley* (mod. *aloï*) from the Old Fr. vb. *aleier* 'to combine', from Latin *alligare* 'to bind'.

12. *then*. The conjunction *than* is identical with *then*, and the two forms were not kept apart till late in the seventeenth century. Old Eng. *donne*, *danne*, *denne* has both senses. The conjunction arose from such a use as 'this is better, then that'.

16. *sophisticate*. The verb is still used technically in the sense of adulterating wine.

18. *Fletcher*. John Fletcher, the dramatist (1579-1625), who wrote in collaboration with Francis Beaumont and others. He was an extremely versatile, prolific, and careless writer, and had a share in at least fifty dramas.

Johnson. Ben Jonson (1573-1637).

27. *Statius*. A Latin poet (c. A.D. 45-96), author of the epics *Thebais* and *Achilleis*, and of miscellaneous poems. The quotation is from *Thebais*, i. 416 f.

Tydeus. King of Calydon, father of Diomedes, and one of the seven princes who, according to the story followed by Statius, made war on Thebes.

28. *Totos infusa* . . . 'Valour, poured through all his limbs, reigned all the greater in a little body.'

PAGE 4. 3. *I have suppress and cast away*. In addition to the juvenile poems in *Poetical Blossoms* and *Sylva*, which Cowley did not think worth reprinting, he has omitted, if indeed they are his, two long poems dealing with the 'troubles', *The Papist and the Puritan* (a satire published anonymously in 1643) and the fragment on the Civil War. Whether he had really 'lost' more than all the other poems put together may fairly be doubted.

17. *Charls the Fifth*. This emperor, who had abdicated his vast dominions some two years before, and had retired to the monastery of Yuste in Estremadura, caused his own obsequies to be performed in his presence on August 30, 1558, and died three weeks later.

20. *my resolution at present*. This resolution was not strictly kept. After 1656 Cowley wrote his six books of Latin verse on plants, the ode on Charles II's Restoration, and a number of other occasional pieces which he published in 1663, besides other poems printed after his death.

27. *Infants*. In the legal sense, persons under twenty-one, minors. For Cowley's early poetry see the Introduction.

PAGE 5. 3. *their opinion of, Exegi monumentum* . . .

Their opinion that they have achieved eternal fame. The words are the opening line of the last poem in Horace's third book of odes: 'I have completed a monument more enduring than bronze.'

5. *fantastical*. Having no real existence, but present only to the fancy.

6. *Reversion*. The return of an estate to the grantor at a fixed date, such as the death of the grantee.

8. *in present*. Common in seventeenth-century English for the modern 'at present'.

10. *S. Paul*. 1 Cor. xv. 19: 'If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable.'

18. *various*. Full of change. Milton's poetic career was still more interrupted than Cowley's by the Civil War.

21. *Tully*. The name by which Cicero was most commonly designated by older English writers. It represents his gentile name, Tullius. The passage, which occurs in his *Brutus*, *sive De Claris Oratoribus*, 97, may be rendered: 'When I look at you, Brutus, I am sad, because your early manhood, though winning applause, like a chariot in full career, was balked of success by the intervention of the miserable fortune of the commonwealth.' Marcus Junius Brutus (85-42 B.C.), to whom Cicero dedicated this dialogue in the year 46, was the famous assassin of Caesar. His active support of the Republican party had led to his removal to Cyprus in 58, and in 49 his forensic career was interrupted by the outbreak of civil war between Caesar and Pompey, when he sided with the latter, and fought in the campaign of Pharsalia. Cowley, with his habitual exaggeration, apostrophizes Brutus, in a Pindaric ode, as the best of all the human race before Christian times.

29. *divertissement*. An equivalent of diversion, very rare in modern English, from French *divertissement*.

PAGE 6. 2. *Halcyon*. This bird, commonly identified with the kingfisher, was fabled to build its nest on the waves, and breed for a fortnight in midwinter, during which time the sea remained perfectly calm. Hence the proverbial expression 'halcyon days'.

4. *Idea's*. *Idea* is a false spelling of 'idea', Greek *idéa*.

7. *Ovid de Trist*. Publius Ovidius Naso, the famous Roman poet (43 B.C.-A.D. 17), wrote his *Tristia* or *De Tristibus*, five books of poetical complaints, during his eight years' exile at Tomi, a half-barbaric town near the mouths of the Danube, whither he had been banished by Augustus in A.D. 9, for some obscure offence, connected with his immoral

Ars Amatoria. His frivolous spirit was crushed by the dullness and loneliness of Tomi, and the poetry he wrote there lacks the vigour of his earlier work, such as the *Amores* and *Metamorphoses*.

8. *there scarce remains any footsteps*. In early modern English, if the verb precedes a plural subject, it is often singular.

10. *Quem nec Jovis ira, nec ignes, &c.* Ovid ends his *Metamorphoses* with a passage in praise of the work, *Metam.* xv. 871 f.:

Iamque opus exegi, quod non Iovis ira, nec ignis,
nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas.

'And now I have finished a work, which neither Jove's wrath, nor fire, nor sword, nor devouring age shall be able to destroy.'

11. *The cold of the Countrey*. In *Tristia*, III. x, Ovid vividly describes the intensely cold winter of Tomi.

strucken. A common early modern English form of the past participle (properly *stricken*) influenced by the pret. *struck*.

13. *his own Metamorphoses*. A poem of Ovid's in fifteen books, describing legendary transformations.

16. *Niobe*. Her story is told in the sixth book of the *Metamorphoses*. Having borne twelve children, she boasted herself superior to Latona, who had only borne two. These two, Apollo and Diana, slew her children, and while weeping for them she was turned into a rock on Mt. Sipylus in Lydia.

17. *In vultu . . .* Ovid, *Metam.* vi. 303 f., 309: 'The colour in her countenance is bloodless, her eyes stand motionless above her sad cheeks; nothing in the image is alive, yet it weeps.'

30. *Quisquis erit vite . . .* Horace, *Satires*, II. i. 60: 'Whatever the condition of my life shall be, I will write.'

PAGE 7. 2. *Vixi Camænis . . .* 'I have lived of late a fit servant of the Muses, and I have warred not without glory; now this wall shall hold my arms and my lute that has finished its service in war.' An adaptation of Horace, *Odes*, III. xxvi. 1 ff. Cowley has altered *puellis* 'girls' to *Camænis* (more correctly *Camenis*) 'Muses'. The 'wall' is in Venus's temple.

9. *retire my self*. The modern absolute use of *retire* has arisen from this reflexive use.

10. *our American Plantations*. Probably Virginia or Maryland, where a large proportion of the settlers were Royalists. The early explorers, like Frobisher and Raleigh, sought for gold in these regions.

14. *Improbis extremos* . . . 'The avaricious merchant runs to the furthest Indies, fleeing from poverty.' An inexact quotation from Horace, *Epistles*, I. i. 45 f.: 'Impiger extremos . . . Per mare pauperiem . . .'

20. *Oblitusq; meorum* . . . Horace, *Epistles*, I. xi. 9: 'Forgetting my friends, and to be forgotten by them.' Horace says he would be content to live thus at Lebedus, on the coast of Asia Minor.

23. *Doctor Donnes Sun Dial in a grave*. John Donne, D.D., the eminent poet (1573-1631), wrote in his poem 'The Will', 48-51 (*Songs and Sonnets*):

Then all your beauties will be no more worth
Than gold in mines, where none doth draw it forth;
And all your graces no more use shall have
Than a sun-dial in a grave.

31. *Tanti est ut placeam* . . . 'It is worth my dying to please you.' Martial, VIII. lxi, writes to a critic who only praised dead poets, 'tanti non est . . .', 'It is not worth my dying', &c.

PAGE 8. 7. *all those which I wrote at School* . . . See Introduction, p. vi.

16. *several Editions*. *Poeticall Blossoms* in 1633, 1636, and 1637; *Sylva* in 1636 and 1637.

31. *Unsolvable*. 'Insolvent'.

32. *ill-husbandry*. 'Bad management'.

PAGE 9. 2. *the late troubles*. A common euphemism for the Civil War and Commonwealth period.

4. *three Books of the Civil War*. This work is lost, and was probably destroyed by Cowley. From this allusion to it, we may suppose that it was in verse, but it is unlikely that the fragment published in 1679 under the title *A Poem on the Late Civil War*, by Mr. Abraham Cowley, is a part of the lost work, although the publisher wrote, 'Meeting accidentally with this Poem in Manuscript, and being informed that it was a Piece of the incomparable Mr. A. C.'s, I thought it unjust to hide such a Treasure from the World. I remember'd that our Author in his Preface to his Works, makes mention of some Poems written by him on the late Civil War, of which the following Copy is questionably a part.' The fragment, which contains less than six hundred lines, describes the Civil War from its outbreak till the battle of Roundway Down, about two months before the first battle of Newbury, which took place on September 20, 1643. Although Cowley's account of the lost work hardly agrees with

this, there are passages in the fragment which distinctly recall his language. See note to p. 50, l. 19. Among the other pieces which Cowley 'cast away' may have been the satire called *The Puritan and the Papist*. By a Scholler in Oxford, published in 1643. See p. xiii.

6. *The succeeding misfortunes of the party*. The first battle of Newbury was followed by the overthrow of Charles's Irish army at Nantwich in January, 1644, the victory of the Parliamentarians and Scots at Marston Moor in July, and the loss of the North of England by the King's forces.

7. *for it is so uncustomary* . . . This passage, down to the words 'would have thought that they deserved' is omitted in Sprat's folio edition of Cowley's works, published in 1668. Sprat evidently thought the passage would be considered damaging to Cowley's reputation. See the Introduction, p. xix. It was obviously written as a pledge of Cowley's good behaviour in view of his release from prison.

24. *a General Amnestie*. An Act of Oblivion for all offences committed before the battle of Worcester was passed by Parliament in February, 1652.

29. *Themistocles*. This great Athenian commander and statesman (c. 514-449 B. C.) guided the policy of Athens when Greece was invaded by Xerxes in 480 B. C., and it was largely due to his strategy that the battle of Salamis was won, although his secret communications with the Persians made him even then suspected of double dealing. He afterwards greatly strengthened the defences of Athens. About 471 he was charged with intriguing with Persia, and fled to King Artaxerxes at Susa. Cicero relates that 'when Simonides [the poet], or some one else, promised to teach him the art of memory, he replied, "I would rather learn the art of oblivion, for I remember what I do not wish, and I cannot forget what I wish."' *De Finibus*, ii. 32.

31. *Redintegration*. 'Restoration to unity'. Cowley refers to the well-known line of Terence, *Andria*, III. iii. 23: *Amantium irae amoris integratio est*, 'the quarrels of lovers are a renewing of their love'.

PAGE 10. 12. *when I was very young*. The verses called 'Friendship in Absence' were addressed before Cowley left school in 1637 to a friend who had preceded him to Cambridge. The lines 'To the Lord Falkland for his safe Return from the Northern Expedition against the Scots', and those 'On the Death of Sir Henry Wootton' refer to events of 1639, and the address 'To the Bishop of Lincoln [Williams], upon his Enlargement out of the Tower', was written in 1640.

21. *The Mistress*. See Introduction, p. xvi.

22. *Free-men of their Company*. Fully privileged members of a guild or similar society.

26. *Mahumetan Monks*. The dervishes, of whom there are many orders, resemble in many ways Christian monks, although they take no lifelong vows. The pilgrimage or *hajj* to Mecca is a religious duty, not only of every dervish, but of every Moslem man once in his lifetime, provided that he is physically capable, and that he can find means to support himself during his pilgrimage, and his family while he is absent.

29. *In furias ignémq; . . .* 'They rush into the fierce flames of desire; love is the same to all.' Vergil, *Georgics*, iii. 244, speaking of the universality of sexual passion among animals.

PAGE II. 1. *Beza*. Théodore de Bèze, called in Latin 'Beza' (1519-1605), was an eminent French Protestant theologian, and Calvin's successor at Geneva. While practising law in Paris in his youth, he had written some witty Latin verses, which he published in 1548 under the title of *Juvenilia*. Afterwards when he had become a leader among the Reformed, his enemies reproached him with the indecency of some of these poems. He had, however, after his conversion never sought to extenuate his offence, but endeavoured to suppress the volume, of which he was heartily ashamed.

2. *Sonnets*. Loosely used for short lyrical poems.

7. *Stoick*. The philosophers of this school aimed at the complete subordination of the emotions to reason. See note to p. 109, l. 12.

8. *Sappho*. Sappho of Lesbos, the greatest poetess of antiquity, flourished c. 600 B. C., and wrote erotic odes, two of which, as well as some fragments, survive.

9. *Feret & rubus . . .* 'And the rough bramble shall bear spikenard.' With *feret* for *ferat* from Vergil, *Eclogues*, iii. 89.

10. *Fables*. In the widest sense, tales, especially of an imaginative kind.

17. *expressions . . . which may happen to offend*. Cowley here defends the vehement and hyperbolical language and voluptuous tone of some of his poems. There is practically nothing, except lapses in taste, in *The Mistress*, which could reasonably give offence; but it must be remembered that the volume was published when Puritanism was at its zenith. In 1670 a violent attack on Cowley's 'lascivious and prophane verses' was made by 'a dutiful son of the Church', E. Elys, a Devonshire rector.

20. *so*. 'So long as', 'provided that'.

29. *Pindarick Odes*. See note, pp. 237-40.

PAGE 12. 4. *Dion. Halicarnasseus*. Dionysius of Halicarnassus in Caria, who flourished about the Christian era, was a Greek historian and writer on rhetoric.

Μεγαλοφύεις . . . 'exalted (in 'the Grand Style') and sweet, and with literary skill.' *Dion. Halicarn., De Vet. Script. Cens.*, ii. 8.

5. *Alcæus*. One of the chief lyrical poets of Greece (fl. c. 600 B.C.). His style is imitated in the odes of Horace, who uses the Alcaic metre named after him, but of his own poetry only a few fragments remain.

10. *withal*. See note to p. 59, l. 28.

11. *Numbers*. 'Metres'.

15. *Numerosity*. 'Metrical quality', 'rhythm'.

19. *The Resurrection*. The last stanza of this ode is referred to.

Stop, stop, my *Muse*, allay thy vigorous Heat,
Kindled at a *Hint* so Great.

Hold thy *Pindarique Pegasus* closely in,

Which does to *rage* begin,

And this steep *Hill* would gallop up with violent course,

'Tis an unruly, and a *hard-Mouth'd Horse*,

Fierce, and unbroken yet,

Impatient of the *Spur* or *Bit*.

Now praunces stately, and anon *flies* o're the place,

Disdains the *servile Law* of any settled *pace*,

Conscious and *proud* of his own *natural force*.

'Twill no *unskilful Touch* endure,

But flings *Writer* and *Reader* too that *sits* not *sure*.

23. *Vt sibi quivis* . . . Horace, *De Arte Poetica*, 240 ff. : (I will choose some well-known subject for my drama) 'so that any one may hope for the same success, and venturing on the same theme, may toil much, and labour in vain.'

26. *Davideis*. See Introduction, p. vii f. The word is formed on the analogy of *Aeneis*, the heroic or epic poem on Aeneas.

29. *after the Patern of our Master Virgil*. Vergil's *Aeneid* consists of twelve books. Among ancient epics, the *Thebais* of Statius, and among modern, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, with many others, have the same number.

31. *Elegie of Davids*. The 'Song of the Bow', 2 Sam. i. 17-27.

PAGE 13. 2. *his Anointing at Hebron*. This followed the

battle of Mt. Gilboa, in which Saul and Jonathan were slain. 2 Sam. ii. 4.

3. *the examples of Homer and Virgil.* The *Iliad* describes the siege of Troy, but not the taking of it. It closes, however, with the death and burial of Hector, its foremost defender. But the real subject is the wrath of Achilles, and therefore his vengeance upon Hector, the slayer of Patroclus, appropriately closes the epic. In the *Odyssey* the whole story is told, down to the slaughter of the suitors, and the restoration of Odysseus to his chieftainship.

The *Aeneid* closes abruptly with the slaying of Turnus, the champion of the Latins and rival of Aeneas for the hand of Lavinia, and does not relate the foundation of Rome, or the establishment of Aeneas as king over the Latins.

11. *Arguments.* Subject-matter for the poem.

12. *the Priests at Nob.* See 1 Sam. xxii. 6-23.

13. *flights and escapes of David . . .* 1 Sam. xix-xxvii.

14. *the Funeral of Samuel.* 1 Sam. xxv. 1.

15. *the love of Abigail.* For Abigail, see 1 Sam. xxv.

the sacking of Ziklag . . . The town of Ziklag had been given to David by Achish, king of Gath. The Amalekites burnt it, and carried off David's two wives, but he recovered the spoil, and rescued the captives. 1 Sam. xxx.

17. *the Witch of Endor.* See 1 Sam. xxviii. 3 ff.

the war with the Philistims. 1 Sam. xvii-xxxi.

18. *Philistims.* Cowley repeatedly uses this double plural in his *Davideis*. So *Anakims*, &c., in the A.V. In Genesis x. 14 the correct Hebrew plural *Philistim* occurs.

the Battel of Gilboa. 1 Sam. xxxi; 2 Sam. i.

all which I meant to interweave . . . Examples in the existing books of the *Davideis* are numerous, e. g. in Book I, Saul's visit to the prophets gives occasion for relating Balaam's prophecy; in Book II is described Saul's tapestry depicting the story of Abraham; an angel reveals to David the future history of his race, down to Christ, and so on.

21. *Antiquities of the Jews.* Events and customs belonging to their ancient history. This is the title of Josephus's great work, of which Cowley has made much use in the *Davideis*.

PAGE 14. 6. *the man after Gods own heart.* So 1 Sam. xiii. 14; Acts xiii. 22.

9. *that Royal Race . . .* See the genealogies, Matt. i. 6-16; Luke iii. 23-31.

20. *the wicked and beggarly Flattery of great persons.* Four years later Cowley himself, in his *Ode upon his*

Majesties Restoration and Return, went to great lengths in this direction, and within a few months of writing this preface he wrote his flattering ode to the notorious Duke of Buckingham.

24. *holy and consecrated things* . . . Pagan deities being regarded as demons, the many Pagan institutions which resemble those of the Jewish and Christian religions were regarded as diabolical counterfeits.

31. *to Baptize it in Jordan* . . . This alludes to the story of Naaman the Syrian leper. See 2 Kings v. 10-12.

PAGE 15. 12. *that Lying is Essential* . . . Cowley here fails to distinguish between truth of idea, which is essential to good poetry, and truth of fact, which is not. According to the principle he asserts in the following sentences, the poetic value of the *Davideis* depends in part upon the historic truth of the narrative. On p. 11, Cowley, somewhat inconsistently, falls into the error of maintaining that the emotional moods expressed in lyrical poetry need have no relation to the poet's experience. Cowley's own poetry illustrates the fallacy of both these theories. The passion of *The Mistress* is hollow and insincere, because it is merely excogitated by the brain. The narrative of David's troubles is heavy and lifeless, partly because the author is at pains to find historical authority for every detail.

Plato, in his *Republic*, accuses the poets of lying, but the kind of lying to which he objects is not fiction, as such, but that which has a demoralizing effect.

30. *a few Philosophers*. Thus Protagoras of Abdera asserted that he knew nothing as to the existence or non-existence of the gods (*Diog. L.* ix. 51), and Xenophanes of Colophon (fl. c. 520 B. C.) proclaimed the unity of God, and denounced Homer and Hesiod for attributing all manner of human vices to the gods. Plato often uses similar language. Thus he says (*Republic*, 377, transl. Jowett), 'First of all, I said, there was that greatest of all lies in high places, which the poet told about Uranus, and which was a bad lie too,—I mean what Hesiod says that Uranus did, and how Cronus retaliated on him.'

PAGE 16. 6. *impertinencies*. Things which do not concern us, or the subject.

8. *their worthy Successors, the Knights Errant*. Cowley alludes to the epics of the Middle Ages, such as the French *chansons de geste*, and of the Renaissance, such as the *Orlando Furioso* of Ariosto, or the *Gerusalemme Liberata* of Tasso.

10. *Deucalion*. The hero of the Greek deluge myth. Zeus having determined to destroy mankind by a flood for their wickedness, Deucalion built a ship, in which he and his wife Pyrrha escaped destruction. Landing on Mt. Parnassus, Deucalion sacrificed, and at the prayer of the two, the earth was repopled from stones which they threw over their shoulders.

12. *the Labors of Hercules*. The hero was bidden by the Pythia to serve Eurystheus, who set him twelve tasks, which he successfully accomplished. They included the slaughter or capture of various wild beasts and monsters, the cleansing of the stables of Augeas, the seizing of the girdle of Hippolyte, queen of the Amazons, the fetching of the golden apples from the Hesperides, and the bringing of the dog Cerberus from the underworld. It is by the first of his labours, the wrestling with the Nemean lion, that Hercules most closely resembles Samson. Each also is ruined by the treachery of his wife. For Samson, see Judges xiii-xvi.

13. *Jephtha's Daughter*. See Judges xi. 30-40.

14. *Iphigenia*. When Agamemnon was about to embark for Troy at the port of Aulis with the Greek army, the expedition was detained by a contrary wind sent by Artemis, whom he had offended. The soothsayer Calchas declared that the goddess could only be appeased by the sacrifice of Agamemnon's daughter, and accordingly the maiden Iphigenia was offered up, and the fleet was enabled to sail.

David and Jonathan. 1 Sam. xviii. 1-4; xix. 1-7; xx, &c.

15. *Theseus and Pirithous*. The great Attic hero Theseus formed a friendship with Peirithous, one of the Lapithae in Thessaly, and aided him in the fight with the Centaurs. Peirithous helped Theseus to carry off Helen from Sparta, and Theseus in return helped his friend in the attempt to seize Persephone in Hades.

25. *flourish*. To write in an imaginative, ornate manner.

PAGE 17. 5. *Mr. Quarles's*. Francis Quarles (1592-1644), best known by his *Emblems*, wrote a series of indifferent scriptural poems and paraphrases, dealing with Jonah (1620), Esther (1621), Job (1624), Samson (1631), the Lamentations, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes.

Mr. Heywood. Thomas Heywood, the dramatist (c. 1575-c. 1650), wrote in 1635 *The Hierarchy of the Blessed Angels*, a didactic poem in nine books.

15. *Number*. 'Metre'.

THE PREFACE TO THE PINDARIQUE
ODES

The *Pindarique Odes*, although a part of the volume of poems published in 1656, have a separate title-page, as follows :

Pindarique
O D E S

Written in Imitation of the
S T I L E & M A N E R
O F T H E

O D E S
O F
P I N D A R .

By A. COWLEY.

HOR. EP. L. 1. 3.

Pindarici fontis qui non expalluit haustus.

LONDON :

Printed for *Humphrey Moseley*, at the sign
of the Princes Arms in *St. Pauls Church-yard*. 1656.

The text follows this edition. The collection of fifteen poems contains imitations of two of Pindar's odes (*Olymp. ii* and *Nem. i*), of Horace's ode in praise of Pindar (*Odes, IV. ii Pindarum quisquis studet aemulari*), of Isaiah xxxiv, and eleven original odes, including those to Brutus, Hobbes, and

Dr. Scarburgh. The best is, perhaps, that entitled 'The Muse'. Others deal with such subjects as 'The Resurrection', 'Destinie', 'Life and Fame', 'The Plagues of Egypt'.

Pindar (c. 522-448 B.C.), the greatest of Greek lyrical poets, was a Boeotian of noble lineage. He visited most parts of the Greek world, composing songs in praise of the great families and princes whose guest he was. He thus became the universal lyrist of the Greek race. He composed songs of many different kinds, hymns, paeans and dithyrambs in honour of the gods, and chants of various kinds for the ritual of the festivals; also *encomia* and dirges on famous men; but of all the classes of lyric in which he composed the only class of which entire poems of his are extant is that of the *Epinicia* or odes celebrating the victories of athletes in the religious festivals at Olympia, Delphi, Nemea, and the Isthmus. Of these forty-four are preserved. Pindar's poetry is characterized by a strongly conservative religious sentiment, aristocratic morality, a profound and reverent sense of the beautiful, and an elaborate art. His vigorous and bold imagination expresses itself in unusual figures of speech, metaphors, inversions, and rapid transitions. The metres of his odes are extremely complex, and depended for their effect upon the musical accompaniment, which is now lost. Even with this aid, it is doubtful whether the modern ear could appreciate the delicacy of the rhythm, or recognize the recurrence of the movement. The rigid structure of an ode of Pindar's was entirely ignored by Cowley. He admits in this preface that 'the *Grammarians* and *Criticks* have labored to reduce his Verses into regular feet and measures', but in his own imitations he cultivates the utmost irregularity and looseness of structure in the form of the stanza, the length of the line, and the rime-sequence. The form is supposed to vary with the lyrical content. We learn from Sprat that a copy of Pindar came into Cowley's hands when he was in a place 'where he had no other books to direct him', and that he proceeded to imitate them in English. Probably he was at first quite ignorant of the Pindaric prosody, and interpreted too literally the '*numerusque fertur Lege solutis*' of Horace's ode (IV. ii). He may also have been influenced, as Mr. Edmund Gosse suggests, by the *vers libres* which Pierre Corneille was at the same time introducing into French literature. Early examples, not unlike Cowley's pindarics, occur in the choric songs in Corneille's *Andromède*, written in 1650

Cowley has caught little of the true spirit of Pindar, except his daring imagery, his sudden transitions, and something of his lofty and solemn enthusiasm. Examples of Cowley's pindarics will be found in the present volume in the ode 'Upon Liberty' (p. 124), that appended to the essay on 'The Garden' (p. 170), and the fragment from the ode on 'Destinie' (p. 220, with note). Metrically, the paraphrases of Horace, *Odes*, III. i (p. 187), and III. xvi (p. 195) agree with the type. Cowley's own ideas upon the subject are set forth not only in this preface, but in that to the Poems (p. 11 f.), and in the lines quoted in the note to p. 12, l. 19 (*Stop, stop, my Muse*), and those on p. 128 (*If Life should a well-order'd Poem be*). Cf. also the note on the latter passage.

Although Cowley's pindaric was a shapeless and generally a tasteless kind of lyric, liable to fall into extremes of bombast and incoherence, nothing he wrote influenced English literature so greatly. For half a century after, it was the fashion to write odes in this mistaken manner. On rare occasions, as in Dryden's *Alexander's Feast*, the pindaric achieved dignity and nobility. In 1706 Congreve published his *Discourse on the Pindarique Ode*, as a preface to one of his own, and remarked very truly, 'The Character of these late Pindariques is a Bundle of rambling incoherent Thoughts, express'd in a like parcel of irregular Stanza's, which also consist of such another Complication of disproportion'd uncertain and perplex'd Verses and Rhimes . . . On the contrary, there is nothing more regular than the Odes of Pindar, both as to the exact Observation of the Measures and Numbers of his Stanza's and Verses, and the perpetual Coherence of his Thoughts.' Of Cowley Congreve wrote, 'The Beauty of his Verses, are an Attonement for the Irregularity of his Stanza's; and tho' he did not imitate *Pindar* in the Strictness of his Numbers, he has very often happily copy'd him in the Force of his Figures, and Sublimity of his Stile and Sentiments. Yet I must beg leave to add, that I believe those irregular Odes of Mr. *Cowley*, may have been the principal, tho' innocent Occasion of so many deformed Poems since, which instead of being true Pictures of *Pindar*, have . . . been only *Caricatura's* of him.'

From the date of Congreve's critique, a more disciplined, scholarly, and artistic style began to prevail, or rather was revived, for Ben Jonson's ode on the death of Sir H. Morison, printed in the 1640 edition of his minor poems as 'a Pindarique Ode', is an early example of the symmetrical pindaric. The

stricter form culminated in such masterpieces as Gray's *Progress of Poesy* and the odes of Collins. Still, the loose, disjointed type of pindaric in the manner of Cowley remained in occasional use. Examples of it are Coleridge's *Ode to the Departing Year*, Wordsworth's great *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality*, and Tennyson's *Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington*.

PAGE 18. 7. *Traduction*. 'Translation'.

10. *quod nequeo* . . . : 'which I cannot demonstrate, but only feel', Juvenal vii. 56, reading 'qualem' for 'quod'.

PAGE 19. 5. *after all these losses* . . . Cowley deserves praise for having introduced into English translation the principle of compensation, which he here expounds. He follows it not only in his versions of Pindar, but in those of Vergil, Horace, Martial, &c., which will be found in the Essays. Earlier translators, such as Chapman in his Homer, had added decoration of their own, but not perhaps in the same systematic and conscious way as Cowley. An instructive illustration of the difference between the literal method and that of compensation is afforded by comparing Milton's and Cowley's versions of Horace's ode i. v, *Quis multa gracilis*. The latter version is in the Cambridge edition of Cowley's poems, by A. R. Waller, p. 37.

26. *though it want yet a Name*. Cowley calls his version of one of Horace's odes (p. 195) a paraphrase, but his versions are generally better described as free imitations.

PAGE 20. 2. *Buxtorfius*. There were two eminent Hebrew scholars named Johannes Buxtorf, or in Latin Buxtorfius, father (1564-1629) and son (1599-1664), both of Basel University. Cowley probably alludes to the younger. He maintained, in opposition to other scholars, the verbal inspiration of the Massoretic text of the Old Testament, regarding even the points and accents as infallible. Cowley appears to mean, which is certainly true, that the poetic excellence of the Psalms is in many cases obscured through the corruption of the text.

5. *Mr. Sands*. George Sandys (1578-1644), the traveller and translator of Ovid, published in 1635 his *Paraphrase upon the Psalmes and upon the Hymnes dispersed throughout the Old and New Testaments*.

11. *Shimei*. A man of the family of King Saul, who cursed David when he was fleeing from Absalom; 2 Sam. xvi. 5-13.

Buchanan. The great Scottish scholar, George Buchanan (1506-82), one of the foremost humanists of his day, trans-

lated some of the Psalms into excellent Latin verse during his imprisonment at Lisbon in 1551.

22. *Pancirollus*. Guido Pancioli, or Pancirolus (1523-99), was an Italian professor of Civil Law. The work alluded to was translated into English in 1715 under the title, *The History of many Memorable Things lost which were in use among the Ancients*.

25. *one of his Olympique . . .* Pindar, *Olympic Odes*, ii; *Nemean Odes*, i. These odes celebrated victors in the Olympic and Nemean games. Cowley uses the form *Nemeæan* in accordance with Pindar's uncontracted form of the adj., *Νεμεαῖος*. Nemea was a small town in Argolis near Phlius, famous for its athletic festival in honour of Zeus.

A PROPOSITION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EXPERIMENTAL PHILOSOPHY

The text follows the first edition, that of 1661.

From the dedication by the otherwise unknown P. P. it may be reasonably inferred that Cowley wrote this Proposition before going into France for the second time. He did so soon after Oliver Cromwell's death, which occurred on September 3, 1658. It appears also that the paper was presented to the Society for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy during the author's absence in France, i.e. not later than the spring of 1660, when he returned on the eve of the Restoration. If so, the final paragraph of the preface was written or modified later, as it presupposes the Restoration. In the interval between its presentation and its publication in the following year it was doubtless considered by the Society (afterwards the Royal Society), and if, as seems probable, it is identical with the 'design' referred to in the following statement, it was discussed on November 28, 1660. Birch, in his *History of the Royal Society*, 1756, vol. i, p. 3, writes, 'As appears from the journal book of the Royal Society, on the 28th of November that year [1660], the lord viscount Brouncker, Mr. Boyle, Mr. Bruce . . . after the lecture of Mr. Wren at Gresham College, withdrew, for mutual conversation, into Mr. Rooke's apartment, where, amongst other matters discoursed of, something was offered about a design of founding a college for the promoting of physico-mathematical experimental learning.' At the same meeting, according to Birch, a list was made of persons

judged willing and fit to be joined with them in their design. The list includes the names of 'Dr. Cowley' and his friends, Sir Kenelm Digby, John Evelyn, and Dr. Scarburgh. Bishop Sprat, in his *History of the Royal Society*, ed. 1734, p. 59, after speaking of its constitution in 1660, adds, 'while they were thus ordering their Platform, there came forth a treatise which very much hastened its contrivance; and that was a proposal by Master Cowley of erecting a Philosophical College. . . . This model was in every way practicable; unless perhaps in two things he did more consult the generosity of his own mind than of other men's: the one was the largeness of the revenue with which he would have his College endowed: the other that he imposed on his Operators a second task of great pains, the Education of Youth.'

The student may read in the third chapter of Macaulay's *History of England* how both the world of learning and the world of fashion were carried away by the zeal for scientific inquiry about the time of the Restoration. Francis Bacon, the great forerunner of the movement, had prepared for it by exhorting the Schools to have done with merely logical disputation and to go to Nature for truth. To prepare the way for reform he began his *Instauratio Magna*, of which two parts were completed, *The Advancement of Learning* (1605), in which he takes stock of the knowledge of his day and its methods, and the *Novum Organon* (1620), in which he proposes a new method of investigation. In these works, while Bacon does not despair of converting the universities to his ideas, he complains (*Advancement*, ii. Dedication 8-14; *Novum Organon*, i. 90 f.; *De Augmentis*, ii) that they are given over to barren ingenuities, minister to the professions rather than to the sciences, are poorly equipped for the attainment of knowledge, and communicate insufficiently with one another. In his philosophical romance *The New Atlantis* (1627), he describes in Solomon's House an ideal college for the study of Nature. Of this Cowley speaks in the present pamphlet (p. 33). The wish to see such a college in existence was present to several of those who founded the Royal Society, including Evelyn and Sir William Petty.

The germ of this institution was a small private society which was formed in London in 1645, and met, usually at Gresham College, for scientific discussions and experiments. It was commonly known as 'the Invisible College'. In 1648 some of its leading members were residing in Oxford, and formed a similar group there, which met in the house of

Dr. Wilkins, Warden of Wadham College. Other prominent members of these little societies were John Wallis and Seth Ward, the eminent mathematicians; Christopher Wren, the architect; Sir William Petty, the economist, and Robert Boyle, the great chemist. 'Our business' in the Oxford circle, says Wallis (quoted by J. R. Green), 'was (precluding matters of theology and State affairs) to discourse and consider of philosophical enquiries and such as related thereunto, as Physick, Anatomy, Geometry, Astronomy, Navigation, Statics, Magneticks, Chymicks, Mechanicks, and Natural Experiments: with the state of these studies, as then cultivated at home and abroad. We then discoursed of the circulation of the blood, the valves in the *venae lacteae*, the lymphatic vessels, the Copernican hypothesis', &c. At the Restoration the leading members of both groups were again in London, meeting as before at Gresham College, and formed the 'Society for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy' to which this pamphlet is dedicated.

The Society at once gained the interest of the king and of leading public men, and in 1662 it was formally incorporated by charter as 'The Royal Society of London for improving Natural Knowledge'. Cowley was one of the original members. Whether he had attended meetings of the 'Invisible College' is not known.

Although the Royal Society never became anything more than an academy, its aims, so far as they went, were identical with those of Cowley. He was not the only member of the Society who formed the more ambitious plan of a college where the new learning could be cultivated. In 1648 William Petty, then a very young man, had published *The Advice of W. P. to Mr. Samuel Hartlib* (see p. 148, l. 22 and note), for the Advancement of some particular Parts of Learning (*Harleian Miscell.*, vi. 1). This pamphlet, in which Bacon's influence is apparent, advocates the foundation of an institution where research is to be combined with the education of youth. In addition to the arts and mathematics, such subjects as botany, gardening, anatomy, chemistry, metallurgy, shipbuilding, and architecture are to be taught in practice as well as theory. There are to be a hospital, a 'botanic theatre', a zoological garden, a museum, an art gallery, a collection of models, an experimental ground for agriculture, laboratories, &c. The assured results of scientific research in all countries are to be collected, and digests or compendia are to be prepared, which are to take the place of ancient

authors as text-books. 'It would', says the author, 'be more profitable to boys to spend ten or twelve years in the study of things, and of this book of faculties, than in a rabble of words.'

Very nearly at the time when Cowley wrote his *Proposition*, on September 3, 1659, his friend John Evelyn wrote a letter to Robert Boyle, the great chemist (Bray's edition of *Evelyn's Diary and Correspondence*, iii. 116-120), in which he said, 'We are not to hope for a mathematical college, much less a Solomon's house, hardly a friend in this sad *Catalysis*, and *inter hos armorum strepitus*, a period so uncharitable and perverse.' Evelyn, being more a man of the world than Cowley, plans his college on a more modest scale, but its general aim is similar. Evelyn and Boyle, who are to be joint founders, two other scientific men, Mrs. Evelyn, a chaplain, an old woman, a man-servant and a boy, are to form the whole establishment. At least thirty acres of land are to be bought within twenty-five miles of London. The members of the society are to live in separate lodgings surrounding a quadrangle. There are also to be a pavilion for meetings, a chapel, 'one laboratory, with a repository for rarities and things of nature; aviary, dovehouses, physic garden, kitchen garden, and a plantation of orchard fruit,' &c. The initial cost is not to exceed £1,600, and the annual expenditure £400.

But neither Evelyn's design nor Cowley's was ever to be realized. Indirectly no doubt Cowley's pamphlet rendered valuable aid to those who were promoting the foundation of the Royal Society, but his own plan was vitiated by the two defects which Sprat points out: its expense, and the burden which the author lays upon his philosophers of combining their researches with the management and teaching of a large school.

Although Cowley's own scientific attainments were but slight, his *Proposition* and *Ode to the Royal Society* show that he was keenly awake to the practical importance of physical science, and of the benefits that would result from its organization and endowment. The new knowledge was winning victories and gaining enthusiastic adherents among the ablest men of the day, but the pioneer work was being done by volunteers, hampered by lack not only of systematic intercommunication and public recognition, but of material resources and leisure. The former needs were supplied by the Royal Society; but for the latter, science was to wait long.

Some copies of the first edition, including one in the British Museum, from which the facsimile has been taken, have a second title, on a page inserted between P. P.'s dedication and the Preface. This alludes, not only to Bacon's treatise, *The Advancement of Learning*, but to the Royal Society, which was in process of constitution. The line from Vergil ('O happy they, whose city walls are already rising!' *Aeneid*, i. 437) was spoken by Aeneas, when in the course of his long wanderings he saw the Carthaginians building their city.

PAGE 24. 14. *All Knowledge must either be of God, or of his Creatures.* By *creatures* are meant created things, including the works of man, which are such in a derivative sense. Cowley's classification may be tabulated thus:

KNOWLEDGE.

- I. Of God. Divinity.
- II. Of God's creatures. Natural Philosophy.
 - i. Of God's immediate creatures. [Natural Sciences.]
 - ii. Of God's mediate creatures. Arts.
 - 1. Purely human arts.
 - a. To improve the expression of thought.
Grammar, Logic.
 - b. To supply social needs.
Rhetoric, Politics (Law), &c.
 - 2. Mixed arts, in which nature is applied to human uses.

This classification agrees with Bacon in rigidly separating divinity from all other departments of knowledge. Bacon had taught that much confusion and stagnation had entered into scientific thought through theological presuppositions, and that while theology must rest upon revelation, science can only be based upon observation of nature. It may of course be objected that Cowley's classification ignores the fact that divinity is concerned with the world and man, as well as with God, and therefore with II. i; also that it has a practical human aim, and therefore deals with II. ii. 1. b.

Another Baconian feature is the insistence on the practical aim of knowledge, a thought that underlies the whole pamphlet. To Cowley the distinction between sciences, which aim at knowledge, and arts, which aim at production, is obscured. There seems to be no assigned place in his scheme for the anthropological and historical sciences, which

investigate human actions without any immediate practical aim.

16. *Natural Philosophy*. This term, now practically obsolete, was generally used in Cowley's day for what we now call natural or physical science. Thus the organ of the Royal Society, first issued in 1665, is entitled *Philosophical Transactions*. The word 'philosophy' is now generally restricted to metaphysics, logic, psychology, ethics and aesthetics, and tends to be identified with the first of these. Cowley uses the term 'natural philosophy' in a singularly wide sense, to include all knowledge except divinity, even knowledge of the arts.

20. *Humane*. See note to p. 2, l. 30.

24. *Internal . . . speech*. Apparently thought expressed in words, but not uttered by the voice.

PAGE 25. 1. *Rhetorick*. This art belongs to a different class from that to which grammar and logic belong, because while they are necessary for the clear formulation of argument by the individual, rhetoric is the art by which masses of men are swayed. It thus has a social importance. The study of rhetoric had a far more important place in education in Cowley's day than it occupies now. It had been a principal subject in the schools of Greece and Rome, and in the mediaeval universities, where Aristotle's *Rhetoric* was a textbook. Cicero and Quintilian formed a part of the school curriculum from the Revival of Learning onwards. Practice was afforded by public declamations and disputations or 'wranglings'. The systematic study of rhetoric gradually decayed in the eighteenth century, and hardly survives except in the writing of school and college essays, and in debating societies.

Politics (or Law). In their broadest significance these arts are identical, viz. the regulation of society.

3. *mixt*. By the mixed arts Cowley means such as consist in the application of external nature to the needs of man, e.g. metallurgy, agriculture, navigation, medicine. Bacon had stimulated the ambition to conquer Nature for human ends by patient study of her.

12. *Invention*. The power of forming ideas, originality. Cf. Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, ii. Ded. 12: 'The exercises used in the Universities do make too great a divorce between invention and memory. For their speeches are either premeditate, where nothing is left to invention; or merely extemporal, where little is left to memory.'

14. *the other two Parts*: i.e. in the above table, II. i, and II, ii, 2. These two subjects, natural science and applied science or technical knowledge, were both largely excluded from the humanistic scheme of education, the former as remote from human interests, and the latter as illiberal, and tainted with commercialism. Cowley here shows himself in advance of his age, for the academic study of these subjects, or at any rate of the latter, has hardly yet attained full recognition.

18. *Physick*. Here used in the later and narrower sense of medical science, not natural science in general.

the Mathematicks. Pure mathematics, as the study of the numerical relations which exist in the material world, belongs to II. i, in the above table; applied mathematics to II. ii. 2.

25. *Lecture*. Reading, especially the reading of a text-book by a lecturer to his class, with comments.

31. *that idle and pernicious opinion*. In the eleventh century, when the Dark Ages were drawing to a close, and learning was reviving, classical literature, though only very partially and imperfectly known, produced a profound effect upon the half-barbarous nations of western Europe, and it came to be regarded with superstitious veneration. Its authority was heightened by the method of reasoning then almost exclusively employed, the deductive or syllogistic logic of Aristotle, which argues from universal statements assumed to be unquestionably true to particular conclusions. This method had been adopted by the Church, primarily for theological teaching, and was naturally extended to the arts and sciences. The awakening intelligence of the Renaissance, and its interest in the material world, led to the rejection of Aristotelian science, and to the demand for a new method based on inductive reasoning. Bacon is thus the pioneer of modern science.

PAGE 26. 5. *Aristotle*. Probably Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) possessed the most acute and versatile intellect of all ancient writers. There is hardly a department of knowledge to which he did not make original and valuable contributions, and logic and many of the physical sciences were for the first time systematized by him. His authority, which was recognized in antiquity, was supreme in the Middle Ages, although only a few of his writings were known, and those for a long time only through corrupt Arabic versions. In some ways his influence was disastrous, notably through the excessive importance given to deductive logic by his followers, and still more

through the mere weight of his authority, which checked research, and caused to be ignored the correct conclusions of other investigators, such as the view that the earth revolves round the sun.

as *Macrobius speaks foolishly of Hippocrates*. Macrobius, a Latin author of about A.D. 400, wrote among other works a commentary on the dream of Scipio related by Cicero in his *De Re Publica*. In this work Macrobius mentions Hippocrates as one 'qui tam fallere quam falli nescit', who can neither deceive nor be deceived (*In Somnium Scipionis*, i. 6. 64). Hippocrates of Cos was a great medical writer, who flourished c. 400 B.C.

12. *it were madness to imagine* . . . Cf. Jer. ii. 13: 'they have forsaken me the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water.'

15. *conversation*. Not merely talk, as in modern usage, but intercourse generally.

22. *hundred years ago*. We should now say 'a hundred'. The century 1560-1660 witnessed an advance in scientific discovery which had not been paralleled for two thousand years. The telescope and microscope were invented about 1608, the thermometer in 1620, the barometer in 1643, and the air-pump in 1650. Harvey announced his discovery of the circulation of the blood in 1619. In mathematics we meet the names of Vieta, Napier, Descartes, and Pascal; in astronomy, Tycho Brahe, Kepler, and Galileo; in physics, Gilbert, Stevinus, and Huyghens; in medicine, Sylvius, Harvey, and van Helmont, to name only a few leading discoverers.

PAGE 27. 1. *Purchases*. 'Acquisitions'. The word had not yet received its special modern sense. In law 'by purchase' is still used in the earlier sense, and is opposed to 'by inheritance'. It is derived from the Old French *purchacer* (later *pourchasser*), to pursue, procure.

8. *sensible Objects*. 'Objects of the senses'.

16. *commentating*. An obsolete verb, replaced by 'comment'.

20. *catcht*. The verb *catch*, Mid. Engl. *cachen*, *cacchen*, from Old North French *cachier*, a dialect form of *chacier*, to pursue. *Catcht* or *catched* is the regular form of the past tense, and survives as a vulgarism, but from Middle English times has been generally superseded by the irregular *caught(e)*, on the analogy of the obsolete verb *lacchen*, *laughte*, to seize, catch.

21. *for above a thousand years.* From the fall of the Western Empire in the fifth century till the Renaissance in the fifteenth and sixteenth.

24. *Guns and Printing.* Cannon were made at Florence in 1326, and the Oxford MS. *De Officiis Regum* of the previous year contains a picture of a gun. The invention of gunpowder was a gradual process, and it is not known when it was first applied to the propulsion of missiles. Roger Bacon was acquainted with its composition in 1242.

The art of printing with movable types, known to the Chinese as early as the eleventh century, was probably invented independently by Lourens Coster of Haarlem about 1440.

Guns and printing were of course not the only important inventions of the Middle Ages. It is enough here to add spectacles, probably invented in the thirteenth century; the mariner's compass, known to Neckam about 1180 (possibly, like paper, introduced by the Arabs from China); and finally the so-called Arabic numerals, an invention of immense scientific importance, known in India as early as the eighth century, if not earlier.

27. *Playing among their Own.* This refers to the barren speculations of scholastic philosophy and science, which were concerned more with the elaboration of preconceived notions than with the examination of real things.

31. *our Universities.* The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, which had arisen from small beginnings in the twelfth century, appear in the thirteenth as organized communities.

PAGE 28. 4. *his Sacred Majesty.* 'His Majesty', originally a title of the Roman emperors, was first used officially by James I among English kings, though it had been in common use long before. The epithet 'sacred' was frequently prefixed in the Stuart period, in accordance with the theory of divine right. Although Charles II was thus addressed by Royalists during his exile, this sentence can hardly have been written before the Restoration.

9. *Philosophical.* Here practically equivalent to 'scientific'. See note to p. 24, l. 16.

12. *scituated.* An erroneous spelling, common in older writers. The word is derived from late or mediaeval Latin *situatus*, from *situs*, position.

14. *upon the side of the River.* In those days the Thames was the main thoroughfare of London.

16. *four thousand pounds*. Equivalent to about £7,200 now.

20. *Scholars, Servants to the Professors*. Scholars, who were originally apprentices in the liberal arts, were, like other apprentices, bound to render personal services to their masters in return for their instruction. It was in Cowley's time still customary for a professor to keep one selected scholar in attendance upon him for menial duties. See p. 37, l. 16. A relic of the old system remained till recently in the servitors and sizars at Oxford and Cambridge respectively. There are only sixteen scholars to twenty professors, because four of the latter are always resident abroad.

21. *A Bailly*. The forms *baily* (in Scotland *bailie*) and *bailiff* are derived respectively from the Old French *baillis* and its objective case *baillif*, from the late Latin *baiulivus*. The corresponding Old French verb is *bailler*, to keep in custody, from Lat. *baiulare*, properly to carry, take charge of (a child, &c.). Here *baily* means a steward or estate agent.

A Manciple. This word is still used for an officer who purchases victuals for a college or an inn of court. The Old French *manciple* is derived from Latin *mancipium*, in Mediaeval Latin the office of a *manceps* or purchaser, lit. 'one who takes in hand'.

25. *A Chirurgeon*. This learned spelling of *surgeon*, which survived into the nineteenth century, recalls the connexion of the word with its original, the Greek χειρουργός, lit. a hand-worker. *Surgeon* is a shortened form from Old French *cirurgien*, of which such forms as *cyrogen*, *sirogen* are found in Anglo-French.

Lungs. In *The Alchemist* of Ben Jonson, II. i. 28, Face, the alchemist's servant, is described as 'his fire-drake, His Lungs, his Zephyrus, he that puffs his coals'.

PAGE 29. 1. *Fowl*. *Fowl* was still often used as a collective noun, and is to this day in compounds, *waterfowl*, &c., as *sheep*, *deer*, *fish*, &c., are still.

6. *the annual allowance*. If we reckon the present purchasing power of money at roughly 1·8 times what it was in 1660, we obtain the following values for the salaries and wages. The style of living was of course much simpler for all classes than it is to-day.

Lodging free, but not board.

Professor	.	}	.	.	.	£216
Chaplain	.	}	.	.	.	
Scholar	£36

Board and lodging free.

Surgeon	£54
Librarian	
Bailiff	
Manciple	
Gardener	£36
Head Cook	
Chemist's Assistant	£21 12s.
Messenger	
Head Butler	£18
Keeper of Beasts	£10 16s.
Groom	£9
Under Cook	
Under Butler	£7 4s.
Bed-maker	£4 10s.

Compared with present conditions, the payments to the chaplain, gardeners and messenger are relatively high, and those to the surgeon, head butler, and bed-makers are low. It is curious that no porter is mentioned. Among the salaries proposed by Petty in his scheme are the following : Physician, £120 ; surgeon, £60 ; surgeon's mate, £20 ; steward, £80 ; student, £25.

10. *Entertainment.* All expenses other than those of the table.

22. *all the Servants of the House.* Apparently not only the librarian but the surgeon also were to take their meals at the servants' table. The social position of surgeons was formerly much lower than that of physicians. They had no university degree, and their duties comprised those of dentist, bloodletter and barber.

28. *Operatories.* Rooms for experiments of all kinds, including the chemical laboratories, the anatomy chamber, and the mathematical chamber.

PAGE 30. 2. *the Industry of the Colledge . . .* : e.g. by two-thirds of the profits on inventions ; see p. 36.

5. *particular mens.* Of private individuals, as distinguished from public bodies.

10. *Leases.* Land was at this time the ordinary form of investment, and to this day the bulk of the property of the colleges in Oxford and Cambridge consists of land let on long leases.

Casualties. Accidental or occasional sources of revenue. In this sense the word is generally confined to Scots law.

20. *Chancellour or President*. Like the Governors, the Chancellor is to hold an honorary office, and is not to reside. The resident Head, or Master, as Cowley, in accordance with Cambridge custom, calls him, is to be appointed annually by rotation among the Professors.

23. *Visitors*. A visitor to a college is some person of eminent standing, such as a bishop, whose duty is to inspect it periodically.

25. *under the hands and oaths*. The professors are to sign and swear to accounts of their official expenditure. Many unnecessary and vexatious oaths were formerly required of college and university officers.

PAGE 31. 6. *pretend*. 'Lay claim', justifiably or not.

14. *the Professors Lodgings*. No lodgings are assigned to the Scholars, because they are to lodge with the Professors. See p. 37.

17. *the Chartreux*. See note to p. 81, l. 26. Similarly Evelyn proposes in his letter (p. 117) that there shall be built round a court, 'six apartments or cells for the members of the Society . . . each whereof should contain a small bedchamber, an outward room, a closet, and a garden, somewhat after the manner of the Carthusians.' This Order, following a half eremitical rule, builds its monasteries in such a way that each monk lives in almost complete seclusion. Their small detached cottages or cells, each with a plot of garden enclosed by a high wall, surround a quadrangle on three sides, and are entered from a cloister or corridor which runs round it.

27. *Dining-Room within the Hall*: i.e. an inner room to be entered from the Hall.

30. *A Gallery*. Cf. the description of Solomon's House in Bacon's *New Atlantis* (ed. Moore Smith, p. 45; see below, note to p. 33, l. 19): 'Wee have two very Long and Faire Galleries: In one of these wee place Patternes and Samples of all manner of the more Rare and Excellent Inventions: In the other wee place the Statua's of all Principall Inventours.' As with Cowley, these include statues of Columbus, 'your monk that invented ordnance', &c.

32. *Inventors*. The word had formerly a wider sense than it has now, and included the meaning of 'discoverer'.

PAGE 32. 2. *the Circulation of the Blood*. This discovery was a gradual one, and was partly known to the ancients. Michael Servetus showed in 1553 that the blood passes through the lungs from the pulmonary artery to the pulmo-

nary vein. William Harvey, however, was the first to explain the whole course of the blood, and the part played by the action of the heart and by the valves. He announced his discoveries in his lectures at St. Bartholomew's Hospital in 1619, and published his theory in 1628.

the Milky Veins. These vessels, now called lacteals from the milky appearance of their contents, convey the chyle from the small intestine to the thoracic duct, and thence to the blood. They were discovered by Gasparo Aselli of Pavia in 1622, and further investigated by Wesling of Venice in 1634, Pecquet in 1647, and Rudbeck in 1649.

4. *Elogies.* From Lat. *elogium*, a saying, sentence, also especially an inscription on a tomb, an epitaph. The English word, which is obsolete, was confused with *eulogy*, and came to be used in the sense of a laudatory panegyric, like the French *éloge*. Cf. Cowley's first note on his ode 'The Praise of Pindar': 'Pindar was incredibly admired and honoured among the Ancients . . . Among the very many Elogies of him I will only cite that of Quintilian . . . L. 10. c. 1.'

19. *Butteries.* A buttery is a room in a college, formerly also in other buildings, where bread, butter, ale, &c., are kept and dispensed. The word is identical with Mid. Eng. *botelerie*, a place for bottles, the form being affected by confusion with *butter*.

20. *Lardry.* An obsolete form, also spelt *larderie*, and now replaced by *larder*, probably a place for keeping lard, hence a store-room for meat, &c.

31. *Composition.* As this is one of the experiments to be tried with plants, it perhaps means the process of grafting or budding one kind upon another. In Solomon's House there are 'Meanes to make diverse New Plants differing from the Vulgar' (*New Atlantis*, ed. Moore Smith, p. 37).

32. *Transmutation.* Bacon mentions among the experiments performed in Solomon's House the changing of one tree or plant into another.

PAGE 33. 11. *all sorts of Dyals.* Instruments for measuring the positions of heavenly bodies, such as quadrants, armillary spheres, and astrolabes. It is noteworthy that telescopes are not mentioned. Solomon's House has very high towers for meteorological studies.

12. *very deep Vaults.* Cf. the description of Solomon's House in Bacon's *New Atlantis*, ed. Moore Smith, p. 35: 'We have large and deepe Caves of severall Depths: The deepest are sunke 600 Fathome: And some of them are

digged and made under great Hills and Mountaines. . . . We use them for all Coagulations, Indurations, Refrigerations, and Conservations of Bodies,' also, for the imitation of natural mines, and producing of new artificial metals, curing of diseases, and prolongation of life.

19. *Solomons House*. In his *New Atlantis*, a description of an imaginary commonwealth in the Pacific, Bacon describes this institution, founded by the lawgiver Solomona. Its aim was 'the finding out of the true nature of all things', 'the knowledge of causes and secret motions of things, and the enlarging of the bounds of human empire to the effecting of all things possible.' It was a great national college, endowed on a lavish scale with a full equipment for scientific research. In various ways, as is pointed out in these notes, it provided Cowley with hints for his scheme. Bacon's aim was to suggest the wonderful scientific progress that might be made (including such inventions as submarines and flying machines), if his methods were carried out with public support.

Joseph Glanvill, in his *Scepsis Scientifica* (1665), says, 'Solomon's house in the *New Atlantis* was a prophetic scheme of the Royal Society.' Cowley means that his own scheme is more modest and limited than Bacon's.

my Lord Bacon. Francis Bacon never bore this title, although it has long been popularly given him. He was Baron Verulam and Viscount St. Albans.

PAGE 34. 1. *Professors Itinerant*. The Fellows of Solomon's House travel abroad, and 'bring us the Bookes and Abstracts, and Patternes of Experiments of all other Parts' (*New Atl.*, p. 44). Intercommunication was one of the great needs of the science of the time, and had been strongly felt by Petty (cf. p. 243). So Sprat writes of the Royal Society (*Hist. R. S.*, ed. 1734, p. 434): 'some [Fellows] shall be sent to travel abroad to search for Discoveries.'

8. *Simples*. Herbs used medicinally, or preparations of them. The substantive is merely a special application of the adjective.

25. *The Mysteries of all Trades*. The word *mystery*, as here used, does not mean a secret, and is not derived from Latin *mysterium*, although to Cowley the two words may have been confused, as they have often been. *Mystery* in the sense of an art or handicraft is a mis-spelling, due to this confusion of the Mid. Engl. *mistere*, from Old French *mestier* (mod. French *métier*), from Latin *ministerium*, a service, employment. The sense has also been affected by confusion with *ma(i)stery*.

26. *Facture*. The action or process of making. A rare and obsolete word.

27. *Natural Magick or Divination*. Natural magic is the alleged art of discovering the secrets of Nature, past, present, or future, without one's self exercising any preternatural power over events. It includes the phenomena of clairvoyance and premonitions, and the use of the divining rod, as well as such arts as palmistry, astrology, and the interpretation of dreams; in short, all occult practices carried on without the aid of spirits.

28. *the Catalogue of Natural Histories*. *Catalogus Historiarum Particularium secundum capita*, a list of the departments of natural science, appended to the *Novum Organon*, Bacon's great work describing his new method of scientific research.

PAGE 35. 8. *monethly*. The Mid. Engl. spelling *moneth*, from Old Engl. *mōnað*, survived, but the word had become a monosyllable, as is seen in the line 'Each fertil moneth does some new gifts present' (p. 156, l. 27).

15. *take place of*. 'Take precedence of'.

Arbitri duarum Mensarum. 'Arbiters or umpires of the two tables.' Their functions are described below.

19. *a double voice*. A casting vote in case of need, in addition to his ordinary vote.

22. *if it be an extraordinary*. *Sc.* order. Verbal orders would suffice for the ordinary routine.

PAGE 36. 9. *their Diet*. A professor is to pay one-sixth of his salary for his board. Luxury at table is therefore checked.

11. *once a week an Assembly* . . . Cf. Evelyn's letter to Boyle: 'Every person of the Society shall render some public account of his studies weekly if thought fit, and especially shall be recommended the promotion of experimental knowledge, as the principal end of the institution.' The Fellows of the Royal Society were expected 'to represent their observations to the weekly Assemblies' (Sprat, *Hist. R. S.*, p. 434).

23. *Denison*. A *denizen* is properly a person who comes to reside in a community and is admitted to its rights and privileges, a naturalized citizen. The word is derived from Old French *deinzein*, from *deinz* (*dans*), within.

PAGE 37. 5. *popular and received Errours*. Some idea of the popular beliefs of the day concerning nature, and the extent to which they were exposed (and, it must be added,

shared) by the learned, will be gained from Sir Thomas Browne's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica, or Enquiries into . . . Vulgar and Common Errors* (1646).

8. *evinced*. 'Confuted'.

10. *by consequence or similitude*. 'By deductions or analogies which may be drawn from them'.

14. *in proper and ancient Latine*. Latin, as the only language universally understood by the learned, was then and long after (and indeed still is for some purposes) the recognized medium of international scientific intercourse. In spite of the revival of learning it was often very barbarous.

27. *seven years*. The regular term of apprenticeship.

30. *That no Professor shall be a married man*. It was till very recently the rule in Colleges that resident Fellows should be celibates. Originally a part of the semi-monastic discipline of a college, this rule was retained to ensure undivided devotion to their duties. The staff of Petty's proposed college were to be unmarried.

PAGE 38. 21. *every moneth administer the Holy Sacrament*. Canon 23 of the Church of England ordains that the Holy Communion shall be administered once a month in all Colleges and Halls in the Universities. In Evelyn's scheme the Communion is to be once every fortnight, or month at least.

29. *Classes*. We see from this that the present customary division of a school into six forms (with perhaps one intermediate form), is at least as old as Cowley's time. The classes in this school are to be large (up to fifty boys); and apparently the whole teaching staff at one time is to consist of two Professors, unless the Scholars are to assist in the work of teaching, just as they are to supervise the physical training of the boys.

PAGE 39. 19. *it is deplorable to consider . . .* Cowley knew this from his own experience at Westminster School. See the Introduction, p. vi.

PAGE 40. 1. *Varro*. Marcus Terentius Varro (116-27 B.C.), a voluminous Latin author. His chief extant works are a treatise on the Latin language, and one on husbandry, *Rerum Rusticarum Libri III*. It is the latter which Cowley would have read in the school.

Cato. Marcus Porcius Cato the Elder, the famous Censor (234-149 B.C.), was the author of an agricultural work, *De Re Rustica*.

Columella. Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella, one of

the chief Roman writers on agriculture, flourished c. A.D. 60. His chief work, *De Re Rustica*, in twelve books, treats of agriculture, horticulture, the rearing of stock, &c. A work on trees is also extant.

Pliny. Gaius Plinius Secundus, known as the Elder Pliny (A.D. 23-79), wrote an immense miscellany on the sciences and arts, the *Historia Naturalis*, which displays much curiosity, but no critical ability.

Celsus. Aulus Cornelius Celsus was a Roman writer on medicine, rhetoric, history, philosophy, war, and agriculture, who flourished c. A.D. 50. His treatise *De Medicina* is his only extant work.

2. *Seneca.* Lucius Annaeus Seneca (c. 3 B.C.-A.D. 65), the famous philosopher and dramatist, wrote, among many other works, *Naturales Quaestiones* in seven books, treating of meteorology and astronomy.

Cicero. The philosophical works of Cicero are in the main free adaptations and compilations from Greek treatises. The two works here mentioned were with several others written in 44 B.C. after the murder of Caesar, and not long before Cicero himself perished. The *De Divinatione* is a treatise on the art of divining future events. See the note on 'Natural Magic', p. 34, l. 27. *De Natura Deorum* is a dialogue contrasting the Stoical and Epicurean views on Providence.

3. *Virgil's Georgicks.* This great didactic poem in four books was written 37-30 B.C. The first treats of agriculture, of the farmer's calendar and of the signs of the weather; the second of trees and soils; the third of the rearing of live stock; the fourth of bees.

4. *Grotius.* Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), a native of Holland, was one of the greatest writers on international law, and a man of profound philosophical, historical, and theological insight. Jurisprudence was to form no part of the studies of Cowley's proposed college, and the work of Grotius which he wished the boys to read was probably his little treatise *De veritate religionis Christianae* (1627), which was very popular in Cowley's time, and was used as a manual of apologetics in Protestant colleges. The author summarizes the evidences for Christianity, while avoiding dogmatic differences between Protestants and Roman Catholics. Compare the kind of teaching which Cowley desires the chaplain to give, p. 38, l. 22.

Nemesianus. A Roman poet of Carthage who flourished A.D. 283. A fragment of 325 Latin hexameters from his

Cynegetica, a treatise on hunting, is preserved. It deals with the rearing of hounds and horses.

Manilius. A Roman poet who lived soon after the Christian era. He was the author of an extant poem, *Astro-nomica*, in five books, treating of astrology and astronomy.

5. *want*: i.e. lack. Cowley here betrays that absence of the higher poetic imagination which is so evident in his own poetry. The use of verse for the purpose of instruction in the sciences and arts, a practice common in classical, mediaeval, and Renaissance literature, and not extinct till the nineteenth century, was a traditional survival from the times when written books were scarce, and metre was an aid to the memory.

11. *parcels*. 'Little pieces', 'excerpts'. The word *parcel* is derived from French *parcelle*, from Latin *particella* (not recorded), a little part.

15. *the Morals and Rhetoricks of Cicero*. The former include *De Officiis*, on Duties; *De Senectute*, on Old Age; *De Amicitia*, on Friendship; *De Finibus*, on Ends (an inquiry into the supreme good). The rhetorical works are numerous, among the best known being the *De Oratore* in three books, and the *Orator*, dedicated to M. Brutus.

16. *the Institutions of Quintilian*. Marcus Fabius Quintilianus (A.D. 40-c. 100), a native of Spain, wrote a complete treatise on rhetoric in twelve books, called *Institutiones Oratoriae*.

18. *proprieties*. 'Proper usages', 'idiomatic expressions'. Our knowledge of the colloquial Latin of the classical age is mainly derived from the comedies of Plautus (c. 250-184 B.C.) and Terence (c. 185-159 B.C.). Facility in talking Latin was an important part of grammar-school education in an age when Latin was the common international language of scholars.

22. *they act*. Cowley was familiar at his own school, Westminster, with the performance every Christmas of a Latin comedy, a practice which is still maintained there. He himself wrote a Latin comedy, *Naufragium Ioculare*, which was acted by scholars of his college.

27. *Nicander*. A Greek didactic poet, who probably flourished about 150 B.C. Two of his poems are extant, *Theriaca*, on venomous animals and the wounds they inflict, and *Alexipharmaca*, on antidotes.

Oppianus. A Cilician who wrote a Greek poem on fishing (*Halieutica*), c. A.D. 170. A similar poem on hunting

(*Cynegetica*) was in Cowley's time still assigned to the same author, but it is now believed to be the work of another poet, who wrote at least forty years later.

28. *Scaliger*. Of the two great classical scholars of this name, the son, Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609) is meant. He was professor at Leyden, and edited many classical texts. It is astonishing that he valued a second-rate author like Oppian so highly.

29. *Aristotle's History of Animals*. A vast treatise, describing the forms and structure of animals with remarkable accuracy. Many other works of Aristotle's on the different branches of natural science are extant.

30. *Theophrastus*. An eminent Greek philosopher and man of science (c. 372-287 B.C.), the chief disciple and successor of Aristotle. His extant works include two great treatises on botany.

PAGE 41. 1. *Dioscorides*. A Greek physician of Cilicia, who flourished about A.D. 100. His *Materia Medica* describes plants useful in medicine.

3. *Aristotle*. His chief work on morals is the *Nicomachean Ethics*, and on rhetoric the *Ars Rhetorica* and the *Poetics*.

4. *Hermogenes*. A distinguished Greek rhetorician of about A.D. 170. Five books of his on rhetoric are extant, which form a complete system, composed before he was twenty-five, when his brain gave way.

Longinus. A Platonic philosopher of the third century A.D., the reputed, but probably not the real author of the celebrated Greek treatise on style, called *On the Sublime*.

6. *Divertisement*. 'Diversión', French *divertissement*.

13. *the Globes*. The terrestrial and celestial globes, which were formerly regularly used for the teaching of elementary geography and astronomy.

17. *travel*. 'Work'.

19. *Festivals*. The observance of the chief Saints' Days and other festivals of the Church was at this time, and later, maintained at schools.

27. *superfluous, if not worse*. Cf. the remarks on dancing in the essay 'Of Agriculture', p. 147.

PAGE 42. 3. *young Scholars*. Not the scholars of the college, but the boys of the school.

6. *according to the proportion of their parents expences*. The boys are to be boarded out with greater or less comfort, according to the payment that the parents like to make.

21. *Hospital-like*. As at a charity school. Cf. the title 'Christ's Hospital' borne by the Blue-coat School. The word 'hospital' was originally applied to a guest-house for strangers, then to a place of refuge for the poor, aged, or sick.

25. *στοργή*. 'Parental love.'

PAGE 43. 9. *explode*. 'Drive out,' 'abolish'; originally to drive off the stage, like a bad actor. See p. 80, l. 24 note. The 'false Monies' are erroneous opinions about nature.

14. *Inventions*. The meaning of the word at this time included discoveries, as well as what are now called inventions.

15. *Drown'd Lands*. The departments of knowledge possessed by the ancient world, but lost in the Dark Ages.

18. *a Benefit by the by*. An additional benefit, beyond the primary purpose of the college.

19. *as many mens Children as shall think fit*: i.e. the children of as many men as shall . . .

22. *indifferently*. 'Without difference.'

A VISION CONCERNING HIS LATE PRETENDED HIGHNESS, CROMWELL THE WICKED

The first edition, which is very rare, has been followed. A copy exists in the Bodleian Library. In Sprat's edition of Cowley's works (1668) the title reads, *A Discourse by way of Vision concerning the Government of Oliver Cromwel*, and the *Advertisement* is omitted.

The *Vision* was the first part of a work, which, like several other projects of Cowley's, was never completed. He planned the treatise during the brief Protectorate of Richard Cromwell, probably during his residence in France, whither he had gone soon after Oliver's death to resume his services to the royal family, and to watch events at a safe distance. The political situation was dark and perplexing. The country, which no longer felt Oliver's strong hand, was rapidly drifting into anarchy. Cowley evidently had little hope of the speedy restoration of the King, which, indeed, if we may trust his ode on that event, had seemed to him a thing almost incredible. He professed, however, as we see from p. 78 f., not to have lost hope in the ultimate success of the Stuarts. But in the early months of 1659 he was gloomily anticipating the ruin of his country, some dreadful retribution for the sins

of the three kingdoms, and of all classes in them. Just as the Crucifixion had brought about the destruction of Jerusalem, so a crime almost as great would, he feared, doom England to annihilation (*Ode*). Brooding pessimistically over the disquieting news from England, and feeling moved to utter a warning, Cowley not unnaturally assumed a rôle like that of a Hebrew prophet. However, the book of visions, burdens, and denunciations, was not ready for the press when public affairs took a sudden turn for the better, the army pronounced for the King, and Cowley's forebodings were stultified. The Restoration once effected, he decided to publish this fragment, which forcibly expressed his judgement on past events without launching too far into prophecy. There are, it is true, traces in it of Cowley's presentiments, notably in the last two stanzas of the second poem incorporated in the pamphlet (p. 63 f.), in which we may perhaps identify the 'denouncing Jonas' with Cowley himself. This poem (*Curst be the man*) may well be that which Anthony à Wood says that Cowley composed on Cromwell's death. We know from the essays that he was in the habit of introducing into his prose writings poems or fragments of poems that he had written before. There is, however, not the slightest probability in the conjecture made by W. Stebbing in his essay on Cowley in *Some Verdicts of History Reviewed* (1887), that he wrote a panegyric ode on the occasion of Cromwell's death, and afterwards put it, turned into prose, in the mouth of the evil angel in this piece. Such tergiversation is inconsistent with what we know of Cowley's character. This fine eulogy was more probably introduced, as Miss Mitford says (*Recollections of a Literary Life*, 1859, ch. 4), 'as if by an instinct of truth and candour which the writer found it impossible to resist.' Grosart compares Andrew Marvell's well-known lines on Charles I.

Apart from the vigour and occasional eloquence of its style, this pamphlet is in some respects the most interesting of Cowley's writings. Disfigured as it is by violent bias and exaggeration, and by an eagerness to believe unfounded gossip, it is valuable as a statement of the Royalist attitude towards Cromwell, made by one who stood in close relation to the Court and to some of the leading men of the party. It should be compared with the remarks on Cromwell in the essay 'Of Greatness' (p. 185).

his own dreadful passion becomes a god'. An inexact quotation from Vergil, *Aeneid*, ix. 185: 'an sua cuique deus fit dira cupido?' Cowley's quotations are very often incorrect.

PAGE 46. ADVERTISEMENT. It is probable that Cowley is the author of this note.

2. *in the time of the late Protector*. At some time between the funeral of Oliver Cromwell, which took place on November 23, 1658, and May 25, 1659, when his son and successor, Richard, surrendered his authority to Parliament. Richard is satirically surnamed 'the Little', on account of his total lack of political ambition and capacity, in which respects he differed completely from his father.

5. *the Guardian-Angel of England*. This being is described at the close of the existing *Vision* (p. 97), as discomfiting the pretended guardian angel. It was a Jewish belief, of which traces are to be found in the Book of Daniel (e.g. x. 3; xii. 1), that every nation is under the protection of a special angel.

12. *The Burden of England*. Cf. Isa. xiii. 1: 'The burden of Babylon'; xv. 1: 'The burden of Moab', &c. These are the titles of prophetic denunciations against various nations. The Revised Version gives the alternative rendering 'oracle concerning'. Others translate it 'doom'.

PAGE 47. 17. *spontaneously generated by the rankness of the soyl*. The old belief that various living organisms could be generated from slime or dust was still widely held.

PAGE 48. 7. *the Funeral day*. The public funeral of Oliver Cromwell, which was conducted with great ceremony and at enormous expense, took place on November 23, 1658. The body was brought from Somerset House to Westminster Abbey, and buried in Henry VII's Chapel.

15. *Virtuosos*. A word borrowed from the Italian, meaning persons of refined artistic taste.

16. *the Mount in Cornwall*. St. Michael's Mount, near Penzance.

the Orcades. The Orkney Islands. *Orcades*, the Latin form of the name, was usual with the older English writers, but has been replaced by the Norse form, which probably means 'seal islands'. The two places mentioned represent the extreme limits of Great Britain.

20. *black*. 'Dressed in black'.

divers Princes . . . The ambassadors of France, Portugal, and Holland, and the ministers of other foreign states

and princes. M. Noble, *Memoirs of the House of Cromwell*, 1787, i. 278.

22. *their Brother*. Sovereigns often address one another thus.

23. *the Herse was Magnificent*. Cf. John Evelyn's account in his *Diary* (wrongly dated Nov. 22): 'Saw the superb funerall of the Protector. He was carried from Somerset House in a velvet bed of state drawn by six horses, hous'd [decked] with the same; the pall held up by his new Lords; Oliver lying in effigie in royal robes, and crown'd with a crown, sceptre, and globe, like a king; the pendants and guidons were carried by the officers of the army; and the imperial banners, achievements, &c., by the herauldes in their coates; a rich caparison'd horse, embroider'd all over with gold; a knight of honour arm'd cap-a-pie, and after all, his guards, souldiers, and innumerable mourners. In this equipage they proceeded to Westminster.'

the Idol Crowned. What Cowley, perhaps satirically, calls the idol, was the wooden effigy of the deceased, with the features modelled in wax. Such figures were borne in the funeral processions of sovereigns and great men, and some of them are still preserved in Abbot Islip's Chapel at Westminster Abbey. See the quotation from Evelyn above. The insignia of royalty were not assumed by Cromwell himself.

PAGE 49. 5. *methoughts*. A false form for 'methought'. It is found in Shakespeare (e.g. *Rich. III*, I. iv. 9), and is due to the analogy of *methinks*, which is compounded of the dative of the personal pronoun and the impersonal verb, in Old Engl. *þyncan*, to seem.

6. *Much noise, much tumult*. Cf. Evelyn, as above: 'It was the joyfullest funerall I ever saw, for there were none that cried but dogs, which the soldiers hooted away with a barbarous noise, drinking and taking tobacco in the streetes as they went.'

7. *much expence*. The funeral is said to have cost £60,000, equivalent at the present day to about £108,000.

14. *Prodigious*. 'Portentous', 'marvellous'.

19. *Vision*. In the account that follows, Cowley appears to burlesque the visions which some of the more fanatical sectaries, such as the Fifth Monarchy men, were accustomed to describe in language and imagery borrowed from the Books of Daniel and Revelation. Cf. note to p. 103, l. 24.

21. *the Father of Poets.* Homer, in *Iliad*, i. 63: καὶ γὰρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διὸς ἔστιν.

25. *St. Paul.* In 2 Cor. xii. 1-7 he mentions a vision of Paradise which he had experienced, 'whether in the body, or out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth;' i. e. he cannot say whether his body was transported thither with his spirit or not.

26. *Hill in the Island Mona.* Snaefell, the highest hill (2,034 ft.) in the Isle of Man (in Latin, Mona). England, Scotland, and Ireland are visible from its summit.

29. *strook.* Both this and the modern form *struck* are irregular derivatives of the Old Engl. past tense *strāc*, Mid. Engl. *strēc*, whence the regular, but obsolete, form *stroke*.

32. *these twenty years.* Strictly speaking, 1638-58. In 1638 the Scots renewed the Covenant and declared episcopacy abolished, revolutionary acts which led to war in the following year.

PAGE 50. 8. *Since I was born.* The year of Cowley's birth, 1618, was remarkable for the outbreak of the terrible Thirty Years' War, in which half Europe became involved. England, in spite of Raleigh's unofficial raid upon the Spanish settlements in Guiana, enjoyed profound peace in 1618, and for six years after.

13. *Halcyon Nest.* See note to p. 6, l. 2.

15. *When all the Riches . . .* The period of Cowley's birth was marked by a great development of English commerce overseas. In 1618 the West African Company was formed. The East India Company had been growing in power since 1600, and was now ousting the Portuguese from the Indian trade. The Plantation of Virginia was becoming important. The mercantile rivalry of the Dutch was not seriously felt until the Civil War period.

19. *When all the proud and dreadful Sea . . .* The sovereignty of the Narrow Seas had been claimed, and at different times enforced, by the Kings of England since the fourteenth century, if not earlier. The refusal of the Dutch to acknowledge this claim by striking sails was one of the causes of the war with Holland in 1652, and the English claim was recognized in the treaty of peace. It may be, however, that Cowley merely refers to the world-wide commerce of England. Cf. the *Poem on the Late Civil War* (attributed to Cowley), 63 f.:

To her great Neptune Homaged all his Streams
And all the wide-stretched Ocean was her Thames.

26. *When Gold walkt free . . .* The confiscation by the Commonwealth Government of the estates of the King and his supporters, and of the higher clergy, reduced the Royalist party to poverty. In spite of the wealth thus acquired, the expense of the standing army and of war caused the Government to incur enormous debts, most of which were repudiated at the Restoration.

PAGE 51. 1. *When the Religion of our State . . .* i. e. when a form of worship (the Book of Common Prayer) was still authorized, which could be regarded as the authentic voice of a real Church. It was now superseded by the Presbyterian Directory, which gave free scope to extempore prayer, and moreover liberty was given to the most fanatical sects to preach their tenets.

4. *Eccho*. Echo, according to the Greek mythologists, was a mountain nymph who pined away for love of Narcissus, until nothing was left of her but her voice.

14. *a Bedlam*. The Hospital of St. Mary of Bethlehem (Mid. Engl. *Bedle(e)ni*) was founded as a priory in 1247, with the duty of entertaining the bishop and canons of St. Mary at Bethlehem when they visited England. As early as 1402 it had become a hospital for lunatics. When Cowley wrote, it still stood in Bishopsgate, but in 1676 it was removed to Moorfields, and afterwards to Lambeth. The word came to be applied generally to a madhouse, and hence to a scene of wild uproar.

15. *tear The Ornaments and Cloaths*. In the wider sense, 'reject contemptuously the traditional usages and ceremonies of Church and State'. There is probably a special allusion to the abolition and destruction of the vestments and other ecclesiastical ornaments in use under the Laudian régime.

19. *Barbarous Britons*. According to Caesar, they stained their bodies blue with woad. Cf. p. 53, l. 3.

23. *The Nations, which envied thee erewhile . . . Nations* is still trisyllabic. Cowley's statement ignores the fact that Cromwell's spirited foreign policy made England respected and feared abroad as she had not been for centuries. Cf. the evil angel's words, p. 56, l. 8, and the note thereon.

26. *all Pity do surpasse*. 'Are too heinous to allow pity.'

PAGE 52. 4. *Lesse change of Habits . . .* 'Habits' is probably used here in the sense of costumes. The frequent changes in French fashions have been a constant theme for English satire. The chief changes of government referred to were the establishment of the Commonwealth under the

Long Parliament and the Council of State in February, 1649; the expulsion of the Long Parliament by Cromwell in April, 1653, and the calling of the nominated 'Little' (Barebones) Parliament; the institution of the Protectorate by the Instrument of Government in December, 1653; the election of a parliament representing the three kingdoms in 1654; its dissolution in January, 1655, and the government of the country by means of Major-generals, August, 1655; the revision of the constitution, including the formation of an Upper House, by the Petition and Advice of the new parliament, in May, 1657; the personal rule of Cromwell, February, 1658.

9. *threat*. As the rime with *beat* shows, the vowel was still long, as in Old Engl. *þrætian*, Mid. Engl. *þrēten*.

13. *rather take the Winds* . . . The nation, abandoning the divinely appointed institutions of monarchy and episcopacy, had committed itself to the shifting gusts of public opinion.

20. *The Royal Martyr prays*. Charles I, who was held to have shed his blood for the Church of England, was regarded by Anglicans as a Saint and Martyr, and as such found a place in the Calendar. *Eikon Basilike*, a book published immediately after the King's death, and professing, whether rightly or not, to be his work, contains many prayers for his enemies and for the nation. His blood, according to Cowley, cries for vengeance, but his soul prays for the pardon of his guilty country.

26. *the figure of a man*. R. Hurd observes in his edition of Cowley, 'The idea of this gigantic figure seems taken from the frontispiece to Hobbes' *Leviathan*.' This work, which was published in 1651, deals with the state, figured in the frontispiece as a giant whose body is composed of a multitude of men. He is rising out of the earth, wears a crown, and holds a sword in his right hand, and a crozier in his left. As Cowley's giant professes to be the guardian angel of the State, there is some plausibility in Hurd's view.

PAGE 53. 7. *Nasbey*. In the battle of Nasceby, which was fought near Market Harborough in Northants, on June 14, 1645, Fairfax and Cromwell overthrew the Royal army, and decided the issue of the first Civil War.

9. *three Crowns*. Of the three kingdoms. The crowns are of brass, to indicate the spurious and impudent character of Cromwell's government.

12. *Pax quæritur bello*. 'Peace is sought by war': the motto on the Great Seal and coins of Cromwell.

15. *Ordinances.* Directions or decrees voted by Parliament or by the House of Commons, such as those by which the latter sought to obtain control of the militia and fortresses before the outbreak of the first Civil War; the Ordinance by which Parliament summoned the Westminster Assembly in 1643; the New Model and Self-denying Ordinances, passed by both Houses in 1645 to reconstruct the army; and that by which the Commons established a court to try the King in 1649.

15. *Protestations.* The most notable 'protestations' of this period were that drawn up in the Commons in May, 1641, and signed by many members of both Houses and others, binding the signatories to defend the Protestant religion, the King, the Parliament, and the rights and liberties of subjects; and, secondly, the protestation (also called a 'remonstrance'), by which many of the Scots repudiated, in October, 1650, the compact made by their government with Charles II.

Covenants. Especially the 'Solemn League and Covenant' originally made at the instigation of John Knox in 1557, and renewed by the Scots in 1638, also the similar Covenant adopted by the English Parliament in 1643. These Covenants were pledges to resist Romanism and Romanizing tendencies to the death.

Engagements. The 'Solemn Engagement' was a document subscribed by the Commonwealth army at Newmarket in June, 1647. By this it bound itself not to disband until its demands for payment, &c., should be satisfied, and established a 'Council of the Army' to protect its interests, especially against Parliament.

16. *Declarations.* A 'Declaration' was issued by the Commonwealth army in June, 1647, asserting its right to speak for the people against the usurpations of Parliament. In February, 1648, a 'Declaration' of the Commons complaining of the King's machinations for the overthrow of the settlement, heralded the second Civil War. By a 'Declaration' Cromwell called the Little Parliament in May, 1653.

Remonstrances. The 'Grand Remonstrance' was a petition sent by the House of Commons to Charles I in November, 1641, reviewing the struggle between King and Parliament, and proposing reforms. The 'Remonstrance of the Army', drawn up by Ireton in October, 1648, urged upon Parliament the futility of further negotiations with Charles, and demanded his trial. The 'Petition and Advice' in which

the Commons asked Cromwell to assume the title of King in 1657 was first called a Remonstrance.

22. *The North-west Principality*: i. e. the state in North-west Europe.

His Highnesse, the Protector. The 'angel' here assumes the titles held by Cromwell.

24. *the Dominions*. The Channel Islands, the Isle of Man, the American Colonies, especially New England, Virginia, Maryland, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and many of the West Indies (including Jamaica, acquired under the Commonwealth in 1655); also a few trade settlements in India and West Africa.

25. *that Angel*. See note to p. 46, l. 5.

PAGE 54. 8. *such a Protector* . . . When Edward IV died in 1483, leaving as heir a son, Edward V, only twelve years old, the former's brother Richard was appointed Protector, an office corresponding with that of Regent. Although the fact of the murder of the young King and his brother by Richard's orders has often been denied, there is little reason to doubt it.

10. *he presently slew the Common-wealth*. Cowley means that by his autocratic and violent dealings with Parliament Cromwell destroyed what authority the latter possessed, and became in fact the sole power in the State.

14. *did but murder a Murderer*: i. e. Cromwell destroyed Parliament, which had destroyed the King.

17. *a constant Turk* . . . A tyrant, however atrocious, who pursued one consistent policy, would have been preferable to Cromwell, who so often violated his professed principles. It may be maintained against Cowley that Cromwell's inconsistencies were forced upon him by the urgent necessity of establishing some kind of stable government. The expression 'every moneths Apostate' is one of Cowley's habitual gross exaggerations.

26. *jealousy*. In the obsolete sense of 'suspicious fear' (Johnson).

27. *his forein Correspondences*. Cromwell carried on a remarkably active diplomatic correspondence, chiefly through his Latin secretary, Milton. The *g* in *foreign* is a meaningless modern addition; the word is derived from Old Fr. *forain*.

31. *White-hall*. This royal palace had been Cromwell's official residence.

PAGE 55. 5. *he took him to be the greatest Man* . . . For this eloquent panegyric on Cromwell, see p. 261.

16. *a person of mean birth, no fortune . . .* As Sir Bernard Burke observes in his *Vicissitudes of Families*, i. 61: 'Long before the time of the great Oliver, the Cromwells were of consideration and high county standing in Huntingdonshire, seated at their fine old mansion of Hinchinbroke.' The Protector married an heiress, and his uncle, Sir Oliver Cromwell, was one of the wealthiest landowners in that part of England. As regards Cromwell's 'qualities of mind', his political, and still more his military genius were unquestionably high.

25. *that numerous, and strongly-allied Family.* Charles I had seven children, four of whom, Charles, James, Henry, and Henrietta Maria, as well as the Queen, went into exile. Of the other children, two died young, and one, Mary, married Prince William of Nassau, who in 1647 became Stadtholder of Holland. The royal family was also allied to France, through Charles's Queen, Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henri IV, and to Denmark through his mother Anne, while his sister Elizabeth was the wife of the Elector Palatine of the Rhine.

27. *under the name and wages of a Parliament.* Cromwell's military commands, by means of which he rose to power, were given him by Parliament.

28. *spurn them out of doors.* This refers to Cromwell's famous expulsion of the 'Rump' of the Long Parliament by military force on April 20, 1653. He 'grew weary of them', because the House, instead of proceeding with public business, sought to pass a bill providing that the existing members should retain their seats without re-election, and should judge of the eligibility of new members.

30. *a new and un-heard of Monster.* The 'Little' or 'Barebones' Parliament, which met on July 4, 1653. It is thus described because the members were not elected at all, but were selected by the Council of the Army from the list of nominees of the Congregational Churches. This so-called parliament, which proved itself incapable, was 'stifled in the very infancy', not by Cromwell, but by the army, which forced the majority of the members to resign on December 12, and expelled the rest the next day.

31. *set up himself above all things that ever were called Sovereign.* Cowley perhaps alludes to the Man of Sin in 2 Thess. ii. 4, who 'exalteth himself above all that is called God'. Cf. p. 87, l. 19, and note. In overriding the constitution, Cromwell exercised a more arbitrary and autocratic

power than any English sovereign had exercised for centuries.

PAGE 56. 2. *to oppress . . . his Friends afterwards by Artifice.* Cowley probably refers chiefly to the Presbyterians, who formed a majority in the Long Parliament, and co-operated with the Independents in overthrowing episcopacy and the royal encroachments, but differed from them on many questions, mainly by insisting on a centralized Church authority with little toleration, and (in most cases) by supporting the principle of Monarchy. When further co-operation had become impossible, Cromwell ousted the Presbyterians through the agency of the army, which was mainly Independent.

7. *the riches of the South, and the poverty of the North.* Before the exploitation of the coal-fields in the North of England and in Scotland in the eighteenth century, the part of the island north of the Trent was sparsely peopled and poor, and, being less fertile than the south, contributed less of the main source of wealth, agriculture. Such industries as ironfounding and the production of textiles had their seat in the south.

8. *feared and courted by all forein Princes.* Cf. the similar language of Clarendon, *Hist.* xv. 152: 'His greatness at home was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad. It was hard to discover which feared him most, France, Spain, or the Low Countries, where his friendship was current at the value he put upon it.' He then gives instances of Cromwell's overawing the Duke of Savoy, the Pope, and the King of France. Cf. also Pepys, *Diary*, July 12, 1667: 'It is strange how everybody do now-a-days reflect upon Oliver, and commend him, what brave things he did, and made all the neighbour princes fear him.'

9. *adopted a Brother to the gods of the earth.* Recognized by kings as an equal. Cf. p. 48, l. 22, and note. For 'gods', see Ps. lxxxii. 1, 6.

10. *to call together Parliaments . . .* The Little or Nominated Parliament was summoned by Cromwell on July 4, 1653; the first Parliament with Scottish and Irish representatives in September, 1654, and the second in September, 1656. In January, 1658, Cromwell summoned his Upper House.

12. *to be humbly and daily petitioned . . .* This refers to the 'Humble Petition and Advice', which was presented by Parliament to Cromwell in 1657, urging him among other

things to take the title of King, and to accept a yearly revenue of £1,300,000 for the purposes of administration. Negotiations with him dragged on from March 31 to May 25.

20. *to bequeath all this with one word to his Posterity.* The Humble Petition and Advice had decided that Cromwell should declare his successor. During his last illness he is said to have nominated orally his son Richard, who succeeded him. The evidence for this declaration is not above suspicion.

24-6. *the whole World . . . his Conquests.* In 1653 he proposed to the Dutch that England and Holland should divide the habitable globe outside Europe between them, and further that they should treat all states maintaining the Inquisition as enemies.

32. *the sign of the Crosse.* The use of this, even in baptism, was strongly objected to by the Puritans.

PAGE 57. 6. *Christ forbids us . . .* Cowley evidently alludes to St. Paul's words in Gal. i. 8: 'Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed.'

19. *a person, such as your self qualify him rightly.* 'Such a person as you have correctly described'.

24. *Taxes of scarce two hundred thousand pounds a year.* This refers, not to the ordinary taxation under Charles I, but to the special tax known as ship-money, which he levied in 1635 and subsequently. About £200,000 was raised in this manner in 1635. The illegality of the tax was one of the causes of the quarrel between Charles I and his Parliament. See note to p. 88, l. 21.

26. *above two Millions.* See note to p. 78, l. 24.

to quarrel for the losse of three or four Eares. In 1637 three Puritan pamphleteers, William Prynne, Dr. John Bastwick, and Henry Burton, were sentenced by the Star Chamber for seditious libels against the bishops to the loss of their ears and imprisonment for life. Public sympathy was manifested by the crowd of 100,000 persons who are said to have lined the streets when the sentences were executed. Alexander Leighton had lost an ear for a similar attack on prelacy in 1630.

27. *strike off three or four hundred Heads.* Political executions were not numerous under the Commonwealth, and this number is certainly a gross exaggeration, unless, of course, the garrisons of Drogheda and Wexford, which were massacred in cold blood by Cromwell's orders, are counted,

in which case the number should be ten times as great. Prof. C. H. Firth, to whom I am indebted for the elucidation of several passages in this pamphlet, informs me that 'forty or fifty would be nearer the mark, and would include all the persons executed between 1649 and 1658'. The most notable sufferers under the Protectorate were Vowel and Gerard for alleged conspiracy in 1654; Penruddock and Grove, with many others, for the rising at Salisbury in 1655; a few Roman Catholics who had contravened the penal laws about the same time; and Dr. Hewit, Sir Henry Slingsby, Ashton, Betteley and Stacy, for alleged plotting in 1658.

28. *an imaginary suspicion of I know not what two thousand Guards . . .* As Dr. Lumby observes, 'I know not what' is an imitation of the Latin idiom *nescio quid*, used to express a vague undefined something. In May, 1642, on the eve of the first Civil War, Charles I, who was at York, raised a bodyguard for himself, consisting of a troop of horse and a regiment of foot. Both Houses of Parliament, or such portions of them as remained at Westminster, construed this act as an indication of the King's intention to make war upon Parliament, and declared the enlistment illegal.

32. *forty thousand.* The standing army which Cromwell maintained was much larger than any permanent force previously existing in England. Its strength varied, but the average number was apparently not far short of 40,000.

PAGE 58. 2. *almost choosing.* The members of the Little Parliament were selected from the list of nominees by the Council of the Army, in which Cromwell had a predominant voice. Members of Cromwell's first representative Parliament (1654) were only admitted on condition of signing four 'fundamentals', and when the second Parliament met in 1656, certificates of approval from the Protector's Council were demanded of all members, an arbitrary device which excluded 103 members. The Upper House which was summoned in 1658 consisted entirely of Cromwell's nominees.

3. *to rob it even to the very skin.* Here, as elsewhere, Cowley attributes to Cromwell much that was done before he became supreme in the State. In 1641 the Commons appointed commissioners to remove images, altars, &c., from the churches. In 1643 Parliament abolished the offices of Bishops, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, &c., and sequestrated their estates. In the following year most of the Anglican clergy were ejected. The rule of Cromwell brought somewhat easier terms to the Church than she had secured

under the intolerant Presbyterian régime, for he allowed Anglican worship to be conducted in private houses.

5. *Counsels of Rapine, and Courts of Murder.* The words *council* and *counsel* were constantly confused. Among the 'Councils of rapine' may be counted the Council of State, which ordained the 'Decimation' in 1655 (see note to p. 86, l. 31). High Courts of Justice with special powers were appointed on several occasions for the trial of Royalists suspected of conspiracy, e.g. in 1654 for the trials of Vowel and Gerard, and in 1658 for those of Mordant, Slingsby, Hewit, and others. These courts condemned many Royalists to death.

6. *under a commission for him.* Cromwell did not join the army until the outbreak of the Civil War, and held his commission from Parliament alone, though nominally for the King. See note to p. 71, l. 7.

7. *to take him forcibly out of the hands . . .* The Long Parliament, to which the Scots had handed over the King, kept him at Holmby House in Northamptonshire, and in the spring of 1647 negotiated with him for the establishment of Presbyterianism, promising at the same time the disbandment of the army. The latter, dreading the establishment of Presbyterianism, which would mean the suppression of the sects, became mutinous, and Cornet Joyce in June carried off the King to the army at Newmarket. Cromwell, it appears, had merely ordered Joyce to prevent the Scots or the Parliament from removing the King.

9. *protestations and vows of fidelity.* While the King was with the army he was treated at first with great respect, although Cromwell maintained a reserved attitude. The 'Heads of the Proposals' which the army presented to the King in July, 1647, were a sincere and statesmanlike attempt at a compromise. It was Charles's double-dealing and intrigues with the Scots that at last convinced Cromwell and the army of the uselessness of negotiation with their prisoner. Cowley has therefore misrepresented Cromwell's action, in this as in other instances.

15. *to fight against Monarchy when he declared for it.* All that this quibble means is that Cromwell was opportunist enough to be ready to accept the monarchy of Charles, if he could force him to grant the reforms he considered essential.

16. *declare against it when he contrived for it in his own person.* Cromwell seems to have been sincere in his preference for a republican form of government, although

the Royalists believed him to have aimed throughout at despotism. It would be truer to say that the anarchical condition of the country practically forced a dictatorship upon him.

17. *to abase perfideously* . . . On the remodelling of the Parliamentary army in 1645, Sir Thomas (afterwards Lord) Fairfax (1612-71) succeeded Essex as Lord General or Commander-in-Chief, with Cromwell as his Lieutenant-General. From 1647 his position became increasingly difficult owing to the agitation carried on by the Independents in the army, and fomented by Cromwell and Ireton. Fairfax, a man of moderate views, and less a politician than a soldier, was with difficulty dissuaded from resignation. He refused to act as one of the judges who tried Charles I, and in 1650, on being ordered to march against the Scots, who had proclaimed Charles II, he resigned on conscientious grounds. Cromwell succeeded him in the supreme command.

Dr. Lumby is strangely mistaken in referring the allusion to General Lambert, who was deprived of his command shortly before Cromwell's death, for refusing the oath of allegiance to him.

24. *the most solemn Perjuries*. It would be hard to substantiate Cowley's vague and sweeping charges of breach of faith on the part of Cromwell.

29. *as St. Paul says*. 1 Cor. viii. 4: 'We know that an idol is nothing in the world.'

30. *the Valley of Hinnom*. The valley of the son of Hinnom is a ravine west and south of Jerusalem, in which was the place called Tophet, where in ancient times the Jews offered their children as burnt sacrifices to the god Moloch. Cf. 2 Chron. xxviii. 3, &c.

31. *burning the bowels*. This was the old custom in the case of persons executed by hanging, drawing (i. e. disembowelling), and quartering. Three Royalists, convicted of conspiracy, were treated thus in July, 1658: Ashton in Tower Street, Betteley in Cheapside, and Stacy in Cornhill.

PAGE 59. 1. *to entail this usurpation* . . . See note to p. 56, l. 20.

4. *to dye hardned, and mad, and unrepentant*. Although Cromwell suffered from mental depression before his death, there is no evidence that he ever regretted his public acts. On the morning of his death, he used 'divers holy expressions, implying much inward consolation and peace'. Royalist gossip about his last hours needs no refutation.

17. *a Serpent that was not yet warm'd.* Alluding to Aesop's fable of the man who in pity thawed a half-frozen viper in his bosom, and was bitten for his pains.

26. *the most antient of the Heathen Divines.* Homer, the oldest extant Greek poet, is called a divine, because his poetry tells us much of early Greek religion.

28. *withall.* Formerly used in the sense of *with*, where that preposition is placed after a relative pronoun governed by it.

29. οὐχ ὅσιον . . . Quoted, with ὅσιον for ὁσίη, from *Odyssey*, xxii. 412. Literally, 'it is not a holy thing to boast over slain men'.

PAGE 60. 2. *it is spoken to a person . . .* This is an error. Odysseus speaks these words to the old nurse, Eurycleia, when she is about to cry aloud for joy at the slaughter of the suitors.

6. *the Verse that follows.* τούσδε δὲ μοίρ' ἐδάμασσε θεῶν καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα.

31. *if the Example be to reign too.* If a tyrant sets the example to others to set up tyrannies.

PAGE 61. 1. *if a Lambert must be invited . . .* Lambert, the general most popular with the soldiers, had been dismissed by Cromwell (see note to p. 58, l. 17), on whose death it was expected by many that he would seize the Protectorate. He at first supported Richard Cromwell, and was restored to his commands, but by recalling the Rump he was instrumental in Richard's downfall. Soon after he effected a *coup d'état*, overthrowing the Rump in October, 1659, and establishing with Fleetwood a short-lived military despotism, which was ended by General Monck. Cowley wrote before these latter events, but possibly inserted the allusion before publication.

5. *the Syracusians.* After Timoleon had expelled the tyrants Hicetas and Dionysius from Syracuse in 343 B.C., and established a democracy, the statues of former tyrants which adorned the city were removed and sold, that of Gelon being excepted by a vote of the people, because of his victory over Carthage at Himera. The story that the statues were impeached in legal form is to be found in Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 23, and in Dio Chrysostom, *Oration xxxvii*, p. 460.

implead. 'Prosecute', or 'sue at law'.

20. *Marius or Sylla.* C. Marius (155-86 B.C.) and L. Cornelius Sulla (138-78 B.C. : not Sylla, which is an old misspelling) were the leaders respectively of the democratic and

aristocratic parties in the civil strife which broke out in Rome in 88 B. C. Both might be compared with Cromwell in that they were able and successful generals who used their popularity with their troops to intervene in politics and banish and proscribe their opponents, in short to become military despots.

25. *curst on*. Although he is already an object of Divine wrath, let me add my curse. *On* has the force of 'still'.

29. *Against the whole but naked State . . .*: i.e. who having the army under his control is more than a match for the entire defenceless nation. Cf. the story of Brennus, the Gallic chief who took Rome in 390 B. C. The garrison, it is said, offered him 1,000 pounds of gold for their ransom. Being accused of providing false weights, he flung his broadsword into the scale, and exclaimed, 'Vae victis!' (Woe to the vanquished!)

PAGE 62. 5. *The Son of Earth . . .* A somewhat confused reference to the war of the Titans against the gods. The Titans were sons of Heaven and Earth, so were the three *Hecatoncheires* or hundred-handed giants, who are generally represented by the mythologists as aiding the gods in the struggle, although Vergil, *Aen.* x. 565, makes one of them, Aegaeon or Briareus, oppose them. According to *Odyssey*, xi. 305 ff. it was Otus and Ephialtes, sons of Poseidon and Iphimedeia, giants, but not hundred-handed monsters, who strove to pile Mt. Ossa on Olympus, and Pelion on Ossa. See p. 185, l. 18, and note.

16. *A Basilisk*. Greek βασιλίσκος, properly 'a little king', in ancient writers a kind of serpent with a mark like a crown upon its head. It was supposed to kill with its glance, or with its breath. So Cromwell murders with his frown. Cowley means that the assumption of the crown (which he probably thought was only prevented by Oliver's death) would have made him an undisguised tyrant. Dr. Lumby aptly quotes Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, II. i. 12: 'He would be crown'd: How that might change his nature, there's the question. It is the bright day that brings forth the adder.' Cf. also 'The Usurpation' in Cowley's *Mistress*:

Thy presence, like the crowned Basilisk's breath,
All other Serpents puts to death.

17. *assaulting Cares*. For 'Eares' of the first edition that of 1668 reads 'Ears', which most later editions alter to 'Fears', a reading typographically less probable than 'Cares',

the MS. emendation in the Bodleian copy of the first edition. Cowley rimes *care* : *appear* in 'Her Unbelief', and *share* : *ear* in 'Eccho'. In the following line, the alteration by the same hand of 'Tears' to 'Fears' is not wanted. Cromwell's tears were well known (cf. p. 80, l. 29), and tears may be said to undermine a man's self-confidence.

22. *a Rebell Red-Coat*. The New Model Army of 1645 wore red coats, the regiments being distinguished by their facings. This is the origin of the modern scarlet tunic. Cf. the poem *On the late Civil War*, 323 : 'Witness the Red Coats weltering in their Gore' (at Brentford).

PAGE 63. 3. *a Rod and Serpent*. In allusion to Moses' rod, which was turned into a serpent, and by means of which the plagues were brought upon Egypt; Exod. iv. 2-4, 17. In the following lines Cowley alludes to each of the ten plagues (though not in the proper order), viz. (1) water turned into blood, (2) hail, (3) boils, (4) darkness, (5) murrain, (6) death of the first-born, (7) frogs, (8) lice, (9) flies, (10) locusts.

8. *darknesse to be felt*. Cf. Exod. x. 21 : 'darkness over the land of Egypt, even darkness which may be felt.'

21. *Come Gods Sword rather than our own*. Cf. 1 Chron. xxi. 11-13 : 'Choose thee either three years' famine; or three months to be destroyed before thy foes, while that the sword of thine enemies overtaketh thee; or else three days the sword of the Lord, even the pestilence, in the land . . . And David said unto Gad, I am in a great strait: let me fall now into the hand of the Lord; for very great are his mercies: but let me not fall into the hand of man.'

PAGE 64. 3. *Jonas*. The prophet Jonah (Lat. *Jonas*) was sent to warn Nineveh of its approaching destruction. The repentance of the Ninevites averted the doom; Jonah iii.

8. *good Princes Deaths*. Cf. Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, II. ii. 30 f. : 'When beggars die, there are no comets seen; the heavens themselves blaze forth the death of princes.'

16. *sciomachy*. From the Greek *σκιομαχία*, a late form of *σκιωμαχία*, 'a fighting with shadows', hence a dispute with an imaginary opponent, a polemic directed against what is really one's own misapprehension of the statement of another.

17. *Tyrant*. The Greek *τύραννος*, whence Lat. *tyrannus*, means an absolute ruler, especially one who has acquired despotic power in a free state, but it does not necessarily imply misuse of such power.

19. *all Kings*. This is not true of the old constitutional monarchs of Greek states, nor of Oriental monarchs, such as

the Persian king. For all these the Greek term is βασιλεύς, and the Latin *rex*.

Jupiter. Thus Aeschylus in *Prometheus Vincitus*, 736, calls Zeus ὁ τῶν θεῶν τύραννος, 'the "tyrant" of the gods'

20. *Juvans Pater*. In Lat. 'helping father', a fanciful derivation of the name *Jupiter*.

PAGE 65. 12. *reiterated rebellions*. Against Charles I, July, 1642, and again in May, 1648; against Charles II, July, 1650. The latter could only be called a rebellion from the Royalist point of view. Cromwell may also be said to have rebelled against Parliament, when he expelled the Rump in April, 1653.

22. *vastly extended limits of Sovereignty*. On December 16, 1653, Cromwell took the oath to the Constitution called the 'Instrument of Government', although it had no parliamentary sanction. This constitution made him Protector of the Commonwealth, but with no hereditary office, and with practically no power of veto on legislation. Triennial Parliaments were to be elected. The council who formed the executive were to be irremovable, and independent of Protector and Parliament. It was chiefly by overriding the constitution and governing autocratically without a Parliament, that Cromwell extended the limits of sovereignty. Cf. notes to p. 55, ll. 30, 31; p. 58, l. 2; p. 91, l. 19.

26. *Rebellion and Usurpation even against his own Laws*. This is illustrated by Cromwell's treatment of his first representative Parliament. Finding that it opposed his views regarding the Protector's authority, he excluded all the members who would not subscribe to the four fundamentals, the discussion of which he declared to be beyond the scope of Parliament, and when the House, even without these members, proved recalcitrant, he dissolved it in anger. The freedom of Cromwell's second Parliament was also interfered with by his insisting on the production of certificates of approval from all the members. It is clear that in many of his most arbitrary acts Cromwell's hand was forced by the army.

PAGE 66. 18. *the Lord Strafford*. Thomas Wentworth, the famous Earl of Strafford, was appointed lord-deputy of Ireland in 1633, and lord-lieutenant in 1640, and governed that country in an able but arbitrary manner. He was executed under a bill of attainder passed by the Long Parliament in 1641.

20. *Men are in both the cases obliged . . .* The 'angel'

here expounds the doctrine of passive obedience. 'The powers that be are ordained of God', and therefore the *de facto* ruler is to be obeyed, when once his power is established.

25-8. *all power is attained either by the Election and consent of the people . . . or else by a Conquest of them.* This recalls Hobbes's doctrine of an original compact between governed and governor, as the basis of sovereignty. Cf. note to p. 108, l. 5.

PAGE 67. 2. *pretences.* 'Pretensions', 'claims'.

29. *the entire Conquest of Ireland and Scotland.* Cromwell carried on a victorious campaign in Ireland from August, 1649, to May, 1650, and fought with equal success against the Scots from July, 1650, to September, 1651. His lieutenants quickly completed the conquest of both countries.

30. *which the whole force of the World . . .* The Romans boasted that they ruled the world, a rhetorical term for the group of countries surrounding the Mediterranean, affected by the Graeco-Roman civilization. They never attempted the subjugation of Ireland, and in Scotland their frontier was drawn by Agricola in A.D. 82 from the Forth to the Clyde, although some footing was gained as far north as the Moray Firth.

31. *virtue.* In the sense of the Lat. *virtus*, 'courage', 'manliness'.

PAGE 68. 1. *successes upon all our foreign Enemies.* The war with Holland, 1652-4, ended with the recognition by the Dutch of his Navigation Law, by which England secured much of the carrying trade to British ports, and also their recognition of the sovereignty of the Narrow Seas. In 1655 Blake sailed into the Mediterranean, exacted compensation from the Grand Duke of Tuscany for injuries to British commerce, and destroyed the pirate fleet of Algiers. The capture of Jamaica from Spain in 1655 in time of peace, was followed by a war in which the Spanish silver fleet was sunk at Santa Cruz in Teneriffe, and Dunkirk was acquired. Through the pressure which Cromwell was able to exert upon Mazarin, the Duke of Savoy was in 1655 compelled to desist from the persecution of the Vaudois.

24. *Banditos.* Ital. *bandito*, one banned or proscribed. The mod. Engl. plur. *banditti*, for *banditi*, is a corrupt form.

PAGE 69. 21. *equipage.* Either 'military equipment', or 'retinue'. The verb *equip* is from French *équiper* (Old Fr. *esquiper*), probably from Old Norse *skipa*, to man (a ship).

28. *publick Proclamations from God.* Denunciations in the Bible of the sin of rebellion.

PAGE 70. 3. *did we furnish him with Arms . . .* The meaning seems to be : 'was it our purpose in giving Cromwell a military command that the task of overthrowing our supposed enemies, the King's evil counsellors, should be merely a preliminary exercise or trial of strength, to prepare him for the work of holding down the whole nation permanently by military force?' The argument is amplified in the following sentences.

PAGE 71. 7. *his Commission.* The 'Ordinance of both Houses of Parliament for the ordering of the militia' began with the words, 'Whereas there hath been of late a most dangerous and desperate design upon the House of Commons, which we have just cause to believe to be the effect of the bloody counsels of the Papists and other ill-affected persons, who have already raised a rebellion in the kingdom of Ireland, and by reason of many discoveries we cannot but fear they will proceed not only to stir up the like rebellion and insurrections in this kingdom of England, but also to back them with forces from abroad ; for the safety therefore of His Majesty's person, the Parliament, and kingdom, in this time of imminent danger. It is ordained by the King, the Lords, and Commons, now in Parliament assembled, That ', &c. On the King's refusal to sanction this ordinance, Parliament declared in March, 1642, that it should take effect without his ratification.

PAGE 72. 5. *particular.* Not national, but individual.

26-8. *I perceived my pretended Angel to give a start, and trembled:* i.e. I perceived that he trembled. There is here a careless confusion of two constructions.

PAGE 73. 1. *Rode Caper vitem, &c.* Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 357 : 'Bite the vine, goat ; yet it will produce something [wine], which can be sprinkled on your horns, when you come to stand at the altar.'

4. *like Nero.* The great fire which devastated Rome in A.D. 63 was popularly ascribed to Nero, although there is no proof of his guilt. He rebuilt in a magnificent manner the parts of the city that were destroyed.

11. *Master of the Palace.* Cromwell occupied the royal residences of Hampton Court and Whitehall.

13. *Sovereign of the Seas.* The old claim of the Kings of England to the sovereignty of the seas implied lordship over the English Channel and other narrow seas around the coasts of England. 'Sovereign of the Seas' was the name

of a very powerful warship added to the British navy in 1637. The angel, it will be remembered, had compared Cromwell with a skilful shipwright who constructs a new and better ship out of the fragments of a wreck.

14. *Canou*. An obsolete form of *canoe*, from Spanish *canoa*, a word of Caribbean origin. The *New English Dictionary* gives the pl. form *canoues* for 1661 (Hickeringill).

27. *those foolish daughters*. The sorceress Medea, desiring vengeance on Pelias, who had murdered the father of Jason, persuaded the daughters of Pelias to treat him in this manner.

PAGE 74. 5. *Mountebanck*. A quack who stands on a bench at fairs to advertise his nostrums. Ital. *montambanco*, from *monta in banco*, 'mount on bench.'

8. *an artificial Plant*. This seems to refer to the production of fern-like crystals, as in the toy known as a 'chemical tree'. The early chemists may have produced such crystals from vegetable ashes, and imagined that in some mysterious way they were reproducing the plant that they had burnt.

9. *Chymist*. See note to p. 169, l. 5.

13. *Syllogism*. A form of reasoning in which two statements are made, the major and minor premisses, containing three terms, one of which is common to both, and a third statement, the conclusion, follows from the two premisses. In this instance, the Major Premiss or Major Proposition, as Cowley calls it, is, 'He who has the best parts in the nation has the right to be its king.' The Minor Premiss is, 'Cromwell has the best parts in the nation,' and the conclusion is, 'Therefore Cromwell has the right to be its king.' The syllogism is formally correct, and can only be opposed by calling one or both of the premisses in question.

18. *two branches of the same Family*. The Houses of Lancaster and York, both descended from Edward III, the contention between which resulted in the Wars of the Roses.

28. *his private faults before*. The scandalous gossip which circulated among the Royalists regarding Cromwell's earlier life cannot be substantiated, and some of it is based on forged evidence.

PAGE 75. 4. *Pompey the Great*. Gnaeus Pompeius (106-48 B. C.), the famous general, and ally and rival of Julius Caesar, was saluted as a young man by Sulla as 'Magnus' or 'the Great', after his victories over the party of Marius in Sicily and Africa. He adopted the epithet as a surname. The incident alluded to occurred in 59 B. C., when Pompey

held supreme command in Italy, and aroused widespread fears that he was aiming at the overthrow of the Republic. At the games of Apollo a tragic actor declaimed a speech in which the words 'Nostra miseria tu es Magnus', 'It is at the cost of our misery that you are Great', were applauded by the crowd. See Cicero's *Letters to Atticus*, II. xix.

17. *when the fulnesse and maturity of time is come.* Cf. Gal. iv. 4: 'when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son.'

21. *humane.* 'Human'. See note to p. 2, l. 30.

23. *Jack of the Clock-house.* A figure of a man (still called a Jack) which strikes a bell outside a clock at the quarters. Cf. King Richard's speech in Shakespeare, *Richard II*, v. v. 60.

PAGE 76. 3. *Omnia Fluminis . . .* Horace, *Odes*, III. xxix. 33-41. Cowley writes *omnia* instead of *cetera*. Conington translates the passage thus:

All beside
Flows like a river seaward borne,
Now rolling on its placid tide,
Now whirling massy trunks uptorn,
And wave-worn crags, and farms, and stock,
In chaos blent, while hill and wood
Reverberate to the enormous shock,
When savage rains the tranquil flood
Have stirr'd to madness.

19. *In such a time it was as this.* Cowley refers to the final struggle of the Roman Republic after the assassination of Julius Caesar in 44 B. C. Cicero led the Republicans in the Senate, and denounced Mark Antony in his Philippics, while professing belief in the loyalty of the young Octavian. When these two joined Lepidus in the second triumvirate to crush the Republicans, Cicero was proscribed with many others, and was murdered in 43 B. C. Marcus Junius Brutus, who had a great reputation for his old-fashioned republican virtues, was the most prominent among the assassins of Caesar, and hastened to occupy the province of Macedonia against Antony and Octavian, but being overthrown, together with Cassius, at the battle of Philippi in 42 B. C. committed suicide. That Cowley specially admired him is shown by one of his Pindaric Odes.

24. *a beardlesse Boy . . . a voluptuous Madman.* Octavianus, who afterwards became the Emperor Augustus, and Mark Antony. Octavian was the grand-nephew and adopted heir of Julius Caesar, at whose death he was only eighteen

years of age. Antony, who was notorious for his profligacy and extravagance, assumed the leadership of the Caesarian party, but was defeated at Mutina by the Republicans, to whom Octavian had attached himself. The latter, who played his part with great shrewdness and caution, now combined with Antony and Lepidus in a triumvirate, to which they were formally appointed for the restoration of order. They proscribed their leading opponents, and overthrew the Republican army at Philippi. Afterwards Octavian strengthened his position in Rome, while Antony wasted his opportunities in dalliance with Cleopatra in Egypt, until in 31 B. C. Octavian overthrew his rival at Actium, and was undisputed master of the Roman world. In 27 B. C. he formally established the new constitution, an empire partly disguised by republican forms.

28. *The one General saves his life.* Octavian, who shared the command with Antony, was ill at the time of the battle, but was persuaded by his physician Artorius, who had had a warning dream, to leave the camp and assume his command. He probably owed his life to this advice, as the camp was stormed by Brutus. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 70; Plutarch, *Antonius*, xxii.

Gaius Cassius Longinus, the author of the conspiracy against Caesar, commanded the right wing at Philippi, and was defeated by Antony, while Brutus with the left wing defeated Octavian. Cassius, according to Plutarch, having sent his friend Titinnius to discover whether a great troop that approached were friends or foes, saw him surrounded by them amid great shouting; whereupon, being very short-sighted, he concluded that Titinnius had been taken by the enemy, whereas the troop was sent by Brutus to reinforce his friends. Cassius accordingly sought death at the hand of one of his attendants. Shakespeare has made the incident familiar.

PAGE 77. 1. *the translation of the great Monarchies.* According to the view then current, supported by the prophecies in Dan. ii and vii, the headship of the world passed successively to four great monarchies or empires, viz. the Babylonian, overthrown by Cyrus, king of Persia, in 538 B. C.; the Medo-Persian, founded by Cyrus, and overthrown by Alexander the Great, 333-330 B. C.; the Macedonian, or Greek empire of Alexander; and finally the Roman. When the headship of the ancient world passed from the Greeks to the Romans is not easy to determine, but it may be maintained with Cowley that Scipio and his contemporaries

effected the change. See note to p. 129, l. 17. The kingdom of Syria, which was the most powerful of the states into which Alexander's empire was divided, was shorn of its provinces west of the Halys and Taurus after the victory of Lucius Scipio at Magnesia in 190 B.C. The kingdom of Macedonia had been crippled by the victory of Flamininus at Cynoscephalae in 198. These victories, together with the overthrow of the Carthaginians at Zama by Publius Scipio in 202, placed Rome undoubtedly at the head of the civilized world.

11. *he does not raise up his servant Cyrus.* Cf. Isa. xlv. 28: 'That saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure', also the following verse, and Ezra i. 1.

14. *the Massanellos.* Masaniello, properly Tommaso Aniello, was a young fisherman who led a revolt of the Neapolitans against their Spanish rulers in 1647. For several days an armed mob held the city, and terrorized the authorities, while Masaniello exercised supreme authority and administered justice. The governor conceded all his demands, and paid him signal honours, which turned his head. He became a ferocious tyrant, and was murdered nine days after the outbreak.

15. *Johns of Leyden.* John Bockholdt, a tailor of Leyden, was a leader among the Anabaptists who seized the city of Münster in Westphalia in 1532. In 1534 he acquired supreme control of the city, and calling himself King of Zion inaugurated a régime of wild licence and tyranny, which he justified by alleged visions. After a year Münster was retaken, and he was executed.

In 1648 Clement Walker wrote ironically in his *History of Independency* (quoted by Carlyle, *Cromwell*, Pt. iii): 'They have settled a Crown-Revenue upon Oliver, and have made him as glorious a King as ever John of Leyden was.'

20. *called for his Armies of Locusts out of Æthiopia.* For the plague of locusts see Exod. x. 4 ff. Ethiopia is to the south of Egypt, whereas the locusts are said to have been brought by an east wind. Locusts are called the Lord's great army in Joel ii. 11, 25.

21. *formed new ones of Vermine out of the very dust.* We read in Exod. viii. 17 that 'Aaron .∴. smote the dust of the earth, and it became lice in man, and in beast'.

PAGE 78. 2. *he has suffered nothing to settle or take root.* For the rapid changes in the government see note to p. 52, l. 4. On the death of Oliver Cromwell it was evident that his system was doomed.

4. *these untempered Mortars*. Cf. Ezek. xiii. 14: 'So will I break down the wall that ye have daubed with untempered mortar;' 13: 'I will even rend it with a stormy wind.'

6. *till that which these Foolish Builders have refused . . .* Ps. cxviii. 22: 'The stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner', a text repeatedly applied to Christ in the New Testament. Similarly in his *Ode upon His Majesty's Restoration*, Cowley ventures to say, 'Come mighty Charles, desire of Nations, come.'

10. *chargeable*. 'Burdensome', 'expensive'; an obsolete sense.

22. *poverty and hunger begins*. A survival of an idiom common in Elizabethan English.

24. *to pay three Millions a year . . . when they might live free for nothing under their Princes*. It is difficult to follow Cowley in this argument. He can hardly think that it would be possible under the monarchy to dispense with taxation, yet the words seem capable of no other meaning. It is true that the standing army which Cromwell was obliged to maintain added enormously to the cost of government, and that Charles II abolished this, with the exception of a few regiments, chiefly Guards. Under Cromwell the revenue from England (apart from some special sources, such as the receipts from sequestrated lands) averaged less than £1,500,000, of which about £1,000,000 was spent on the army and navy. After the Restoration the revenue was nominally fixed at £1,200,000, but normally fell far short of this, averaging in time of peace about £900,000. During the Second Dutch War large additional sums were raised.

31. *it does not look (methinks) as if God had forsaken . . .* The five children surviving in 1658 were King Charles II; Mary, Princess of Orange; James, Duke of York, afterwards king; Henry, created Duke of Gloucester in 1659; and Henrietta, afterwards Duchess of Orleans. Cowley's praise is a piece of flattery; two of the family, Charles and James, were already notoriously immoral. The same thought occurs in the ode, 'Upon His Majesties Restoration', 8:

He who had seen the double Pair
Of Brothers heavenly good, and Sisters heavenly fair,
Might have perceiv'd (methinks) with ease,
(But wicked men see only what they please)
That God had no intent t' extinguish quite
The pious King's eclipsed Right.

PAGE 79. 7. *great dangers*. Charles was forced to escape from Falmouth, Scilly, and Jersey successively in 1646. After his defeat at Worcester in 1651 he made his way to Shoreham and thence to France with a price upon his head, amid imminent risk of capture. It was during this flight that the famous incident of his concealment in an oak occurred. James was captured by Fairfax at the surrender of Oxford in 1646, but escaped to Holland disguised as a girl in 1648. Princess Henrietta was born at Exeter in 1644 during the Civil War, and after the capture of that city by the Parliament in 1646 was carried in disguise to France.

11. *to return closely to the discourse* . . . Cowley here resumes the argument that the country will soon weary of the usurpers. One of his reasons for thinking so is that the leaders of the rebellion show no conspicuous merits.

13. *parts of nature, and mixture . . . that uses*. The verb agrees with the nearer subject. The verb *use*, in the sense of 'be wont' was not, as now, limited to the past tense.

30. *Apothegm*. A shortened form of *apophthegm*, Greek ἀποφθегμα, 'a terse, pithy saying'. One such saying at least of Cromwell's may be quoted, a remark to the French ambassador in 1647: 'A man never mounts so high as when he does not know where he is going.'

31. *That little in print which remains* . . . Cromwell's speeches in Parliament. Cromwell had not the gift of oratory, and his style is prolix and involved. Cf. Carlyle's *Cromwell*, *passim*.

PAGE 80. 7. *Intellectuals*. One of the numerous adjectives which have lost the power of being used as substantives, to express qualities.

24. *explode*. In the obsolete sense of hissing or hooting (an actor) off the stage, like Lat. *explodere*, originally, perhaps, 'to drive off by stamping.'

28. *Hypocritical praying, and silly preaching*. As with most of the Puritans, Cromwell's language was saturated with biblical phrases and modes of thought, and, like them, he firmly believed that God's hand was to be recognized in every occurrence. It was but natural that those trained in a different school should think him a hypocrite. He addressed his brother officers at a three days' prayer-meeting held in Windsor Castle in 1648. On the third day, 'none was able', writes General Allen, who was present, 'hardly to speak a word to each other for bitter weeping, partly in the sense and shame of our iniquities, of our unbelief, base fear of men,' &c. Carlyle, *Cromwell*, Part iii.

29. *falsehoods and perjuries*. See note to p. 58, l. 24.

PAGE 81. 7. *to Object*. 'To bring forward', 'adduce'.

17. *travels*. In the sense of *travails*, 'is in labour.' The text proceeds: 'and hath conceived mischief, and brought forth falsehood.' The verbs *travail* and *travel* are forms of the same word (French *travailler*, to labour), differentiated on account of the two senses. The development of the meaning recalls the difficulties of travel in past times.

26. *Chartreux*. A Carthusian monk. This is the modern French form. Older French has *Charteus*, from Latin *Carthusius*. The Order was founded by St. Bruno in 1084, and takes its name from a village (Chatrousse, Chartreuse) near Grenoble, where its first monastery was founded. 'Charterhouse' is an English corruption of the name. The Order is famous for its extreme austerity. An office is said privately at 11 p.m., Matins and Lauds last from midnight till 2 or 3 o'clock, and at 5 a.m. High Mass is celebrated.

wants. 'Requires', 'needs'.

29. *Larum*. A shortened form of *alarum*, a warning signal. It is a form of the word *alarm*, from Old French *alarme*, from Ital. *allarme* = *all' arme*! 'to arms!'

PAGE 82. 4. *Faux*. The famous Guy Fawkes (1570-1606).

14. *disperse all the chief Partners*. Cowley probably refers to Cromwell's expulsion of the Long Parliament in 1653, and to the action he took in February, 1658, when there were intrigues between the Republicans in Parliament and some of the Army leaders with the object of limiting Cromwell's military authority, or even of superseding him. On discovering this plan, he dissolved Parliament, imprisoned General Harrison, and dismissed General Lambert.

17. *even of his own making*. See note to p. 65, l. 26.

29. *there uses frequent examples to appear*. For *uses* see above, note to p. 79, l. 13. The construction of a singular verb with a plural subject when the verb precedes is common in Elizabethan English. Cf. p. 6, l. 8.

PAGE 83. 2. *that five or six men . . .* The abnormal strength often exerted by delirious persons is well known.

6. *'Twas boldly done of Nero*. The Emperor Nero was persuaded by his mistress Poppaea to murder his mother Agrippina. She was stabbed to death in A. D. 59, on the pretence that she had conspired against her son's life. The Roman nobility, among whom Republican traditions lingered, were, as a class, the bitterest opponents of Nero, and many

of them fell victims to his fears and suspicions. For the allegation that Nero was the author of the great fire of Rome, see note to p. 73, l. 4. The story goes that during the fire he ascended a tower, and recited to the lyre a passage in Homer describing the burning of Troy.

12. *wanted when he was to die that courage . . .* When Nero fled from Rome, he hid himself in a villa, and lay for hours in straw, unable to bring himself to suicide, until he heard his pursuers at the gates, and then he required the help of an attendant. See note to p. 182, l. 2.

19. *at the rate of fewer wounds or dangers . . .* This is hardly the case. John Vicars, who fought at Winceby, Lincs., on October 11, 1643, thus describes Cromwell's conduct in that encounter: 'Colonel Cromwell fell with brave resolution upon the enemy, immediately after their dragoons had given him the first volley; yet they were so nimble, as that, within half pistol-shot, they gave him another: his horse was killed under him at the first charge, and fell down upon him; and as he rose up, he was knocked down again by the Gentleman who charged him . . . but afterwards he . . . bravely mounted himself again.' (Quoted by Carlyle, *Cromwell*, i, after Letter xviii.) Early in the battle of Marston Moor Cromwell was for a time disabled by a wound in the neck, but he soon rejoined his troops, routed Rupert's horse, and then brought his Ironsides to the aid of the Scots. At Dunbar and Worcester his tactics were remarkably daring. During the last ten years of his life he was in frequent danger of assassination.

26. *a sin that is called like it.* 1 Sam. xv. 23: 'Rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft.'

30. *I can espy no other.* It is easier to the student of to-day than it was to Cowley to discover the chief causes of Cromwell's success. Milton rightly recognized among them his 'faith and matchless fortitude'. Next to his unshakable conviction that he was fighting the Lord's battles, which gave him immense power and influence, we may place his military genius (he was one of the greatest of cavalry leaders) and his broad-minded and far-seeing statesmanship.

PAGE 84. 9. *a Peace with our Brethren of Holland.* The Dutch War, which began in 1652, was the work of the Long Parliament. Cromwell headed the peace party, and one of his first acts after he was made Protector was to conclude peace in April, 1654. The democratic and Puritan spirit had derived much strength from the Netherlands since the

days of Elizabeth, when English volunteers had aided the Dutch in their national struggle with Spain. The Netherlands had become the leading Republic, and after 1619 the leading Calvinistic state in Europe. Many of the victims of Laud's system found a refuge there.

17. *the sale and sacrificing* . . . The peace found both countries financially exhausted, but Holland more so than England. Cromwell, who recognized in Holland the strongest bulwark of the principles that he had most at heart, was anxious not to weaken or alienate her too much. Consequently, the advantage was not pushed so far as Cowley thinks it should have been. There was no cession of Dutch colonies, but Holland recognized the Navigation Act and the Sovereignty of the Narrow Seas, and compensated English merchants for their losses. The security of Cromwell's usurpation was furthered by the promise of the Dutch to expel Royalist refugees.

22. *Beatus Pacificus*. 'Blessed peace-maker'. Matt. v. 9.

23. *kindling a fire in the Northern World*. In June, 1655, Charles X of Sweden made war against Poland, and shortly afterwards against Brandenburg, and although for a time he forced the latter country to take his part, in 1656 Russia and Holland, and in 1657 Denmark, joined his enemies. Although Cromwell was on very friendly terms with Sweden, and no doubt sympathized with Charles X in his struggle with Roman Catholic Poland, there was no ground for the contemporary belief that he had instigated him to this war, which is sufficiently accounted for by Charles's military ambition, and his sense of his precarious tenure of Sweden's foreign dominions. Cromwell was glad to see the eastern coasts of the Sound, which Denmark had been able to close against English trade, pass into the hands of Sweden, but he was alarmed at an internecine struggle between the four chief Protestant powers of the Continent, and in 1657 he endeavoured, though without success, to mediate between the warring powers.

carrying a War two thousand miles off Westwards. In December, 1654, Cromwell attempted to carry out his 'Western design'. A fleet under Penn and an army under Venables were dispatched to the West Indies, with the object of conquering the large and wealthy Spanish island of Hispaniola (Haiti), although the two countries were at peace. This expedition proved to be Cromwell's one great military failure. There was much mismanagement and lack of preparation, and the undisciplined troops were routed in an

attack on the city of Santo Domingo in April, 1655. The subsequent capture of Jamaica was at the time considered of little importance.

24. *Two millions a year*. See p. 57, l. 26, and p. 78, l. 24 with note.

25. *Vales*. A nearly obsolete word, also spelt *vails*, shortened from the sb. *avail*, and generally used in the plural, meaning gratuities, perquisites, especially those given to servants. The word appears to convey a suggestion of corruption. As Cowley elsewhere reckons Cromwell's revenue at three millions, he seems to imply that his 'vales' amounted to a million a year. Cf. the taunt against the Roundhead party in 1643, in *The Puritan and the Papist* (attributed to Cowley), 37 f.:

For th' publique good the summes rais'd you'lle disburse;
Reserved [The greater part for your owne purse].

27. *two hundred Pounds*. Cromwell belonged to a younger branch of a wealthy family, and in his youth his means were not great. But see note to p. 55, l. 5.

29. *the whole Indies*. The object of Cromwell's 'Western design' was, in his own words, 'to strive with the Spaniard for the mastery of all those seas'. The alligator, which is amphibious and extremely voracious, haunts the West Indian rivers.

30. *Anti-Solomon*. Cf. 1 Kings x. 21: 'All king Solomon's drinking vessels were of gold . . . none were of silver: it was nothing accounted of in the days of Solomon;' 27: 'the king made silver to be in Jerusalem as stones.' Under the Commonwealth there was an average annual deficit of from £400,000 to £500,000.

PAGE 85. 3. *his fantastical Ophir*. 'His source of wealth which existed only in his own fancy', i.e. Cromwell thought that by commanding the trade-route of the Spanish treasure-ships, which was his main object in striking at Santo Domingo, he would fill his depleted treasury.

4. *Faustus as well as Sylla*. When the Dictator Sulla (see note to p. 61, l. 20) celebrated his triumph over Mithridates in 81 B. C. he assumed the surname of *Felix* (Happy), because he regarded himself as a special favourite of the gods. For the same reason he named one of his sons *Faustus* (Fortunate). This Faustus, who resembled his father in his extravagance, if in little else, was murdered after the battle of Thapsus.

12. *which I wish may be observed by ours with trembling*: i.e. which fact, that the Commonwealth troops who were so

shamefully routed at Santo Domingo were a great army, ought to serve as a useful warning to us Royalists against arrogance.

14. *forty Slaves*. This statement is partly supported by the words of 'I. S., an eye-witness', in *A . . . Journal of the late Proceedings and Success of the English Army in the West-Indies, 1655* (*Harl. Miscell.*, III. 510 ff.). 'The number, at this time, slain outright, were no less than six-hundred men, besides two-hundred more that crept into bushes . . . whom the Negroes and Molattoes soon after dispatched. . . . Those that did all this spoil and mischief (O miracle to believe, and shame to think of it!) exceeded not in all the number of fifty men.' The English, however, who were already utterly demoralized by disaffection, bad leading, dysentery, and lack of water, were exposed to a heavy cannonade from the Spanish fort. In all 1,700 were lost out of 9,700.

17. *Conquest of Jamaica*. Penn and Venables sought to cover their failure by the capture of Jamaica, which they effected in May, 1655. This was an easy task, as the total Spanish force in the island did not exceed 500 men.

21. *The War with Spain*. Spain declared war in February, 1656, in consequence of the West Indian expedition.

24. *the taking a part of the Silver-Fleet*. While Blake was blockading Cadiz in September, 1656, Richard Stayner, one of his captains, pursued the so-called Plate Fleet of eight ships, bringing silver from Mexico, and captured three ships, one of the others being burnt and another stranded. The captured treasure was brought in thirty-eight wagons from Portsmouth to the Tower of London, and coined. Why Cowley represents Cromwell as the only person who profited by this capture is not clear.

28. *the losse of twelve hundred of her ships*. According to Dr. Lumby, no less than 1,500 merchant vessels were captured by the Spaniards.

32. *Dunkirk*. Marshal Turenne's victory over the Spaniards at Dunkirk Dunes on May 24, 1658, was largely due to the aid rendered by the English contingent of six thousand men under General Lockhart sent by Cromwell. The brunt of the battle was borne by the English on both sides. The Spaniards surrendered the fortress soon after, and France ceded it to England.

PAGE 86. 10. *some of our former Princes*. Edward III and Henry V, both of whom conquered large parts of France, and claimed the whole. Both fought in person in their French wars.

18. *in a ready stock of about 800^m pounds*: i.e. when Cromwell was made Protector in 1653 there was a balance of £800,000 in the various public treasuries and funds. The Commonwealth was fairly solvent till about 1654, but from that date the public deficits continued to grow, until at the Restoration the nation was bankrupt. Among the causes were firstly the cessation of such special sources of revenue as the sale of sequestrated lands and the fines and compositions paid by Royalists, secondly the heavy burden of the standing army and the navy. The debt was estimated in the Commons' Journal in 1659 at £2,474,290 os. 1d.

23. *he left it as much again more decayd*. An inevitable result of the insolvency of Cromwell's government, and of the unsettled political situation at his death, was depression of trade, which was aggravated when the restored monarchical government proceeded to repudiate the liabilities of the Commonwealth.

26. *infamous means to raise moneys*: e.g. the sequestration of lands belonging to the Church, the Crown, and the members of the Royalist party; the compositions by which Royalists made their peace; fines for breaches of laws made in the Puritan interest, &c.

31. *Decimation*. After the suppression of the Royalist rising at Salisbury in 1655, Cromwell decided on this high-handed method, by which a fund for the more efficient policing of the country could be raised, and the Royalists punished at the same time. By a mere Ordinance of Council he levied an income-tax of 10 per cent., the so-called 'Decimation', on all who had borne arms for the King, irrespective of former compositions and pardons.

PAGE 87. 1. *capitulations*. 'Agreements', 'conditions'.

6. *a whole Book*. Cromwell's order for the decimation was accompanied by a remarkable declaration of the reasons for it, to which at the direction of Charles II, then at Cologne, Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, wrote and published a reply in 1656, entitled, *A letter from a true and lawful member of Parliament . . . to one of the lords of his Highnesse councill*.

13. *establishment of the Jews at London*. Edward I had banished the Jews from England. In 1655 the famous Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel came to London, and induced Cromwell to take steps for their readmission. He summoned a conference at Whitehall, to which representatives of the Church, the law, and trade were invited. The divines and merchants strongly opposed the proposal as a danger to Christianity and

to trade, but the lawyers declared that there was no statute forbidding it. As the conference could come to no conclusion, Cromwell ended it, saying he would act on his own responsibility. He then announced to Parliament his intention to allow the Jews to settle in England, and in the following year the immigration began. Cowley seems to be unaware of the success of the scheme.

19. *invented . . . to sell.* 'Conceived the idea of selling'.

Oh Antichrist! Cromwell is called Antichrist (cf. p. 55, l. 31, and note) because the latter is described in Dan. viii and xi as polluting the sanctuary and taking away the daily sacrifice. Although old St. Paul's was desecrated, there is no foundation for the Royalist rumour that Cromwell wished to sell it to the Jews. His tolerant principles scandalized many of his narrower contemporaries. Thus he declared that he desired 'union and right understanding between the godly people . . . Jews, Gentiles, Presbyterians, Anabaptists and all', and again, 'I had rather that Mahommedanism were permitted amongst us than that one of God's children should be persecuted.'

Πονηρόν and ὁ Πονηρός. 'A wicked thing and the wicked one'. The last petition in the Lord's Prayer, Matt. vi. 13: *ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ*, is interpreted in two ways by expositors, *πονηροῦ* being either genitive of the neuter, *τὸ πονηρόν* 'wickedness', or of the masculine, *ὁ πονηρός* 'the wicked one'.

27. *St. Peters.* Westminster Abbey is dedicated to St. Peter.

28. *to the Turks for a Mosquito.* Older writers use the word *Turk* as equivalent to Mohammedan. *Mosquito* is an obsolete form of *mosque*. Cf. Spanish *mezquita*, from Arabic *masjid*.

31. *that heathenish way of the Common-Prayer Book.* The public use of the Book of Common Prayer was forbidden under the Commonwealth. Most Puritans regarded certain things ordained in it as idolatrous, and even as of Pagan origin, such as the surplice and the sign of the cross in baptism.

PAGE 88. 2. *every penny that for almost five years he took.* Cromwell's Protectorate lasted from December 16, 1653, to September 3, 1658.

8. *Mosse Troopers.* The word *moss* is used in the North of England in the sense of a boggy moor. Moss-troopers were properly marauders on the Scottish border.

12. *Mr. Coney.* He was a London merchant who refused

to pay customs unconstitutionally levied. Being sent to prison, he demanded a trial, which took place in May, 1655. His counsel, Maynard, who pleaded the illegality of the tax and of the imprisonment, was committed to the Tower, and the judges, who were unable to assert the legality of the Protector's action, were severely reprimanded by him for permitting Maynard to question his authority. See Clarendon, *History*, xv. 150.

21. *the trial of a little Ship-money*. In 1635 and 1636 Charles I issued writs for the levying of ship-money from all the counties, inland as well as maritime. This was a special naval tax, hitherto raised in time of war, but now in time of peace, nominally for the suppression of piracy, really to co-operate with Spain against France. The refusal of John Hampden to pay his contribution raised the constitutional issue whether the King could levy a tax without the consent of Parliament. A majority of the judges who tried the cases decided for the Crown. This was one of the incidents which widened the breach between the King and the Parliament.

23. *our old Courts of Justice*. The Courts of High Commission and of Star Chamber, and the Councils of Wales and of the North, were abolished by the Long Parliament in 1641. These were the chief instruments of Charles I's despotism.

24. *he set up new ones*. See note to p. 58, l. 5.

PAGE 89. 14. *there have in the space of four years been made so many Prisoners . . .* One of Cowley's reckless and unfair assertions. From the beginning of 1655, when there was a real danger from Anabaptist and Royalist plots, till the death of Cromwell, a considerable number of persons were apprehended, but there were more substantial grounds for their arrest than the jealousies of Cromwell's 'guilty imagination'. Miscarriage of justice seems to have been rare. Cowley may have generalized from his own case, if it is true that he was arrested in mistake for another. But he was probably cognizant of the great Royalist plot which had just failed.

17. *Marius and Sylla*. See notes to p. 61, l. 20. When Marius took Rome in 87 B. C. he perpetrated a terrible massacre of the leading men of the aristocratic party. Sulla had his revenge when he entered Rome in 82 B. C., and instituted a series of proscriptions (82-81), in which some 4,700 persons perished.

the accursed Triumvirate. The second Triumvirate must be meant, which was formed in 43 B. C. by Mark

Antony, Octavian (Augustus), and Lepidus, for the suppression of the Republican party. One of their first acts was a proscription of their enemies, by which three hundred senators and two thousand knights were assassinated. See note to p. 120, l. 19.

21. *civil*. 'Civilized', 'in accordance with constitutional government.'

25. *deficient to*. 'Falling short of'; an obsolete use.

28. *the whole reign of our late King*. Capital punishment was never inflicted for political offences under Charles I till the execution of the Earl of Strafford in 1641. For the cropping of ears see note to p. 57, l. 26.

30. *I think the longest time* . . . Executions were far more frequent under the Tudors, especially Henry VIII, than under Cromwell. It should be remembered that Cromwell was the author of the Act of Oblivion of 1652, that he spared the lives of the Republican officers, Wildman and Sexby, both of whom had plotted against him, and that he endeavoured in vain to mitigate the severity of the criminal law. See note to p. 57, l. 27.

PAGE 90. 2. *the broyling of humane bowels*. See note to p. 58, l. 31.

5. *his Predecessors of Sicilie*. Cowley refers to such tyrants as Phalaris, who made himself master of the city of Agrigentum in Sicily in the sixth century B.C., and is said to have roasted his victims alive in a brazen bull.

6. *his selling of Christians* . . . This accusation is true, and is perhaps the worst that can be brought against Cromwell. In 1649 the few survivors of the Drogheda garrison were sent as slaves to Barbadoes. After the battle of Worcester in 1651 fifteen hundred prisoners were sold to the Guinea merchants, many of them being sent to work in the mines on the Gold Coast. Many Royalist insurgents were sold to the Barbadoes planters after Monck's campaign in the Highlands in 1654, and after the Salisbury rising in 1655. This gave rise to the phrase 'to barbadoes a man'.

21. *This Man was wanton and merry . . . with our sufferings*. There is some truth in these charges. Alike in his anger (which became ungovernable on occasions) and in his gaiety, Cromwell often betrayed a lack of dignity.

26. *those words which hee spoke*. A Republican newspaper in 1659 attributed to Cromwell, without any evidence, a contemptuous and indecent jest on Magna Carta and the Petition of Right, in reply to the judges who protested against his unconstitutional action in Coney's case (see note to

p. 88, l. 12). Part of his alleged speech will be found in Clarendon's *History*, xv. 150. See also Prof. Firth's article in *Notes and Queries*, ser. IX, vol. vii, p. 481. What Cromwell really said, according to the earliest report, was something different, blunt but quite decent.

29. *ranting so wildly*: e. g. when he entered the House of Commons on April 20, 1653, and assailed prominent members with violent abuse, before expelling the House.

30. *flinging of cushions*. Shortly before the second Civil War broke out in 1648, Cromwell invited some of the military and parliamentary leaders to a conference, with the object of deciding the question whether a monarchy or republic was to be preferred, but ended the barren discussion by flinging a cushion at General Ludlow's head, and running away.

31. *playing at Snow-balls*. The incident alluded to appears to be unknown.

32. *moneth*. See note to p. 35, l. 8.

hee assembles a Parliament . . . The 'Little Parliament', which was the shortest of Cromwell's parliaments, lasted five months. No such language as Cowley here reports is to be found in the speeches of Cromwell edited by Carlyle. The words seem to embody a vague impression of Cromwell's parliamentary manner.

PAGE 91. 5. *bidding them, Turn the buckles of their girdles behind them*. Cowley is mistaken in making Cromwell address these words to a Parliament. In his speech at the opening of the new Parliament on September 17, 1656, he spoke of the 'Decimation' (see note to p. 86, l. 31) after the Salisbury rising, and added, 'And truly if any man be angry at it,—I am plain, and shall use an homely expression: Let him turn the buckle of his girdle behind him! If this were to be done again, I would do it.' Carlyle, *Cromwell*, Part ix, Speech v; ed. 1871, iv. 200. Carlyle explains the proverb, "'Let him bring his sword-hilt round then"; ready for drawing; round to the front, where the "buckle" of his belt or "girdle" now is.' But by turning the belt round, the hilt would be shifted to a less handy and familiar position, and the wearer would have time, if he lost his temper, to think before striking. Cromwell seems to mean, 'Before they rush to arms, let them consider coolly what the consequences are likely to be.' This interpretation is supported, as Aldis Wright notes (*Much Ado about Nothing*, in Clarendon Press Series, p. 152), by what seem to be two variants of the saying, the Irish proverb, 'If he be angry, let him tie up his brogues,' and the Spanish proverb, 'If you are angry with me,

pull off one of your shoes and lay it in soak.' The present proverb occurs in Shakespeare, *Much Ado*, v. i. 142; Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Democritus to the Reader, p. 77, ed. 1651; Ray's Proverbs, and Swift, *Polite Conversation*.

6. *Representative*. 'Representative assembly', 'parliament'. The Parliament which met September 4, 1654, and was dismissed by Cromwell January 31, 1655, was the first in which Scotland and Ireland were represented.

13. *Phrensie*. So spelt in accordance with its derivation from the late Greek φρένησις, late Latin *phrenesis*. The older English form was *frenesye*, through Old French *frenesie*.

14. *Now a Parliament must bee chosen*. 'The new manner' is that by which the 'Little' or 'Nominated Parliament' was chosen; 'the old form' was resorted to for the election of the following Parliament, that of 1654. See notes to p. 55, l. 30; p. 58, l. 2.

17. *Major Generals*. After the dissolution of Parliament in 1655, and the subsequent Anabaptist plots and the Royalist rising in the west, Cromwell divided England into ten, afterwards twelve, districts, each of which was placed under a Major-General armed with wide and arbitrary powers. This system lasted about a year.

18. *Another House*. Cromwell's Upper House, consisting of seventy of his adherents, nominated by himself, assembled January 20, 1658.

19. *No House*. Cromwell, assisted by his Council, governed without a Parliament from January, 1655, to September, 1656, and from February, 1658, till his death in September.

21. *stans pede in uno*. 'Standing on one foot'. Said by Horace of Lucilius composing two hundred verses; *Sat.* i. iv. 10.

to manifest the absolute power of the Potter. Cf. Rom. ix. 21: 'Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour?'

24. *It was said antiently of Fortune*. Juvenal, *Satires*, iii. 38 ff.:

Quum sint,
quales ex humili magna ad fastigia rerum
extollit, quoties voluit Fortuna iocari.

30. *haut goust*. 'High flavour', 'seasoning'. *Goust* is the older spelling of French *goût*, taste, from Lat. *gustus*.

PAGE 92. 14. *his own Army grew at last as weary of him*. The new constitution, which became law in 1657, defined the

powers of the Protector and of Parliament, which once again consisted of two Houses. Approximating as it did to the old constitution, it gave great offence to the Republicans and Anabaptists, who were strong in the army, and preferred the untrammelled rule of the sword in the hands of the 'godly' to a system of precedents and checks. Hence the alienation of military chiefs like Harrison and Lambert.

19. *Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin*. The writing on the wall at Belshazzar's feast. See Dan. v. 25-28.

32. *his Son . . . has the whole Crop*. Although not published until after the Restoration, the *Vision* was, as we learn from the Advertisement, written during the Protectorate of Richard Cromwell.

PAGE 93. 2. *I have nothing to say against the Gentleman*. Richard Cromwell was of too mild and inoffensive a character, and intervened too little in public affairs, to arouse any violent animosity.

23. *the frowardnesse of a Cynick*. The Cynic philosophers (Greek κυνικός, doglike) cultivated morose and anti-social manners. For the Epicureans, see notes to p. 120, l. 11 and p. 173, l. 15.

29. *Platonical Statesman*. One who frames imaginary commonwealths, like Plato in his *Republic*.

a Theoretical Commonwealths man. Many political theorists arose during the period of the Civil Wars and the Commonwealth, the most notable of whom was James Harrington, author of *Oceana* (1656), the description of a model republic.

30. *an Utopian Dreamer*. Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, published in 1516, is a description of an imaginary Commonwealth.

Was ever Riches. *Riches* (French *richesse*) was still treated as a singular noun.

31. *Golden Mediocrities*. Aristotle in his *Nicomachean Ethics* treats virtue as a mean between two extremes. The defect and the excess of every virtue is a vice. In allusion to this view, Horace speaks of virtue as 'golden mediocrity' in *Odes* II. x. 5: 'Auream quisquis mediocritatem diligit.'

PAGE 94. 1. *out*. A rare use for 'out of'. The *N. E. D.* quotes Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, v. ii. 41, 'When you have pusht out your gates the very Defender of them'; and Steele, *Tatler*, 206, 'Not endeavour at any Progress out that tract.'

Aristotles Politiques. Aristotles' *Politics* is an application of the theories of his *Ethics* to the State.

3. *Matchavil*. Niccolò Machiavelli, the famous Florentine publicist, whose treatise *Il Principe* (1513) recommends unscrupulous means of acquiring and maintaining political power. Cowley contrasts him with Aristotle, to whom the aim of politics is not power, but virtue.

8. *what is the Virtue of any Creature but the exercise . . .* The 'angel' here plays upon the two senses of 'virtue', (1) moral excellence or principle, and (2) inherent power; though, strictly speaking, the word is never used for 'the exercise of powers'.

19. *Cain*. For the sacrifices of Cain and Abel, see Gen. iv.

19. *strook*. See note to p. 49, l. 29.

26. *He the first Citie built*. Gen. iv. 17. See p. 171, l. 21.

28. *a Grand-Child of the Deity*. Because Adam is called 'the son of God'; Luke iii. 38.

PAGE 95. 6. *Abimelec*. According to Judges ix, Abimelech, a son of Gideon (Jerubbaal), having gained the support of the men of Shechem, slew his seventy brothers, and was made king. A *hecatomb* is properly the sacrifice of a hundred victims.

10. *To make it hold*. 'To make the dye fast'.

15. *Athaliah*. The mother of Ahaziah, king of Judah. When her son was killed by Jehu, she massacred all the royal family except Joash, a young son of Ahaziah, who was kept hidden in the temple for six years, while Athaliah reigned. In the seventh year Jehoiada the priest produced the young prince, made him king, and effected the death of Athaliah. See 2 Kings xi.

25. *She to pluck down . . .* Athaliah undertook to extirpate the house of David, the son of Jesse, whereas that house was destined to survive, for thus it had been prophesied (2 Sam. vii. 11-16).

29. *the Better got by One*. Carried out its will through the life of one person, viz. Joash. The idea seems to be that of a party to a game winning by one point.

PAGE 96. 1. *a publick spirit*. 'A mind inclined to affairs of State'.

2. *Methusalem*. A common corruption of *Methuselah*, probably after *Jerusalem*. This patriarch is only distinguished by his age, 969 years. Gen. v. 27.

4. *A thousand years . . .* See 2 Pet. iii. 8.

13. *Oracles*. Metrical oracles of an enigmatic and ambiguous character, and often in rather doggerel verse, were given out at some of the ancient Greek shrines, notably that of Apollo at Delphi. Herodotus gives examples. Cowley,

in common with his contemporaries, regards them as of diabolical origin.

24. *Malignant*. A term ordinarily applied by the Parliamentary party to their Royalist enemies.

28. *you know whither*. To the place of execution.

29. *pounces*. 'Talons', 'claws of a bird of prey'; a word still in occasional use.

30. *ere*, 'before' (Old Engl. *ær*). On p. 214, l. 24, 'ere occurs in the sense of 'before'.

ope'd. The apostrophe indicates that the word is regarded as a contraction of *opened*. The poetic verb *ope* is really formed from the obsolete adj. *ope*, a shortened form of the adj. *open*, treated mistakenly as a participial adj. like *awake(n)*, *wove(n)*.

PAGE 97. 5. *The comelyest Youth of all th' Angelique race*. Hurd remarks, 'A pourtrait of the rightful heir to the British crown,' i. e. Charles II. This view, astonishing as it seems, is certainly supported by passages in Cowley's *Ode upon His Majesty's Restoration*. The Royal Family are there called an 'Angelique band'. Charles is like 'a Heavenly Saint', and like 'some Prince of heavenly Birth (No proud Gigantick son of Earth, Who strives t'usurp the god's forbidden seat)'. But though Charles may possibly be indirectly alluded to, the youth is primarily the guardian angel of England, who puts to flight her evil angel.

16. *an azure Ruban* . . . The insignia of the Order of the Garter, the premier English order of knighthood, include a medallion or badge with the figure of St. George slaying the dragon, borne on a blue ribbon, also, as here, a mantle and a star.

Ruban is the modern French form, the older being *riban*, whence Engl. *riband*, *ribbon*.

19. *The mystick Champion's, and old Dragon's fight*. St. George, the patron saint of England, and a very obscure personality, is 'the mystic champion', because his fight symbolizes that between Christianity and the powers of darkness. Dr. Lumby can scarcely be right in thinking St. Michael is meant.

23. *th' English bloody Crosse*. The red cross of St. George, which forms the arms of England.

31. *the Wolves wild heart*. *Wolves* is here the old form of the possessive singular, Old Engl. *wulfes*; the sound *f* becoming voiced between a liquid and a vowel. The simile imitates Homer.

THE PREFACE TO *CUTTER OF COLEMAN STREET*

The text follows the first edition, printed in 1663. The title-page is as follows.

C U T T E R
O F
C O L E M A N S T R E E T .
A C O M E D Y .

The Scene *L O N D O N*,
in the year 1658.

Written by
ABRAHAM COWLEY.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *Henry Herringman* at the Sign of the
Anchor in the Lower walk in the New-Exchange.
Anno Dom. 1663.

The play takes its name from a character described as 'a merry sharking fellow about the Town, pretending to have been a Colonel in the Kings Army'. *Cutter* was a cant term for a ruffian or bravo. *Coleman Street* is in the City of London, a little to the west of Moorgate Street.

This comedy is a remodelled version of *The Guardian*, which was hurriedly written by Cowley at the age of twenty-three, on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II, to the University of Cambridge in

March, 1642. It was successfully performed before the young prince in the hall of Trinity College.

The reopening of the theatres at the Restoration probably suggested to Cowley the idea of rewriting the play. It was produced on December 16, 1661, at the Duke of York's Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields. This play-house had been opened the year before by Sir William Davenant and the Duke's servants, i.e. the theatrical company under the patronage of the King's brother James, afterwards King.

It is unnecessary to analyse the comedy, the plot of which is extremely complicated. It will suffice to mention those parts of it to which exception was taken. Colonel Jolly is a Cavalier whose estates have been confiscated because he had joined the late King at Oxford. They have been bought by a Puritan colonel and soap-boiler, to whose widow, Mistress Barebottle, 'a pretended Saint', they now belong. Col. Jolly is reduced to living upon the interest of his niece's portion, £5,000, which his brother has entrusted to him. It is to become her dowry unless she marries without her uncle's consent, when she will only get £1,000. The Colonel opposes her desire to marry young Truman, and bargains with two highly disreputable and riotous adventurers Cutter and Worm, who trade on their pretended services to the King's cause. They are to pay Jolly £1,000, and take their chances with the heiress, the fortune to fall to Jolly or his heirs in the event of the niece dying childless. She and her lover, however, cause pills to be administered to the old colonel, which make him feel so ill, that he thinks he is at the point of death, and in a ridiculous panic he consents to their union. Recovering, he finds himself driven, through the failure of his plans, to demanding the hand of old Mistress Barebottle, which will bring him his lost estates. As she will only have a 'godly' husband, he is speedily converted to Puritanism. Cutter follows suit, and his sudden change of heart wins Mistress Barebottle's daughter Tabitha. Calling himself Abednego, 'a name that signifies Fiery Furnaces, and Tribulation, and Martyrdom', Cutter overcomes Tabitha's scruples by relating a series of farcical visions, which he says command their instant marriage, and prescribe an accompaniment of much drinking, fiddling, and wearing of Cavalier finery.

The general idea of most of this was planned before the Civil War. It was perhaps indiscreet to produce a play with such scenes soon after the Restoration. Many idle and

worthless Cavaliers infested the town, who put forward claims to consideration and reward for more or less shadowy services to the cause during the troubles. In such quarters a cynical contempt for decency and sobriety was looked on as a test of loyalty. Cowley, a man of pure and honest life, was certainly a loyal supporter of the King's cause, but detested the loose manners of the Court as much as the hypocrisy which he found in its opponents. In this play (I. vi) the heroine, Lucia, thus addresses the self-styled Cavaliers, Cutter and Worm :

Go cursed race, which stick your loathsome crimes
Upon the Honorable Cause and Party ;
And to the Noble Loyal Sufferers,
A worser suffering add of Hate and Infamy.

Some of the Royalist hotheads, scenting disaffection where none was intended, gave the play a hostile reception. Dryden, who was present on the first night, related, says Dr. Johnson in his *Life of Cowley*, 'that when they told Cowley how little favour had been shown him, he received the news of his ill-success, not with so much firmness as might have been expected from so great a man.' This mortification is reflected in the preface, the unnecessarily apologetic tone of which is alluded to in the satirical lines quoted by Johnson, beginning :

Savoy-missing [*v. l.* -nursing] Cowley came into the court,
Making apologies for his bad play.

Samuel Pepys records in his *Diary* for December 16, 1661 : 'After dinner to the Opera [the Duke of York's Theatre, so-called from Davenant's representations], where there was a new play (Cutter of Coleman Street), made in the year 1658, with reflections much upon the late times ; and it being the first time the pay was doubled . . . ; and a very good play it is. It seems of Cowley's making.' On August 5, 1668, he saw it again, this time entitled *The Guardian*, and possibly the earlier version, and thought it 'a silly play'.

In spite of the severity with which *Cutter of Coleman Street* was treated on the first night, it ran for a week before full houses, which meant a moderate success.

PAGE 99. 5. *the troubles*. A common euphemism for the Civil War and Commonwealth period. The public performance of plays was forbidden by Parliament from 1642 till the Restoration, but the ordinance was not enforced very strictly.

PAGE 100. 1. *twenty years*. Cowley was employed in France and elsewhere in the service of the Court for about ten years (1644 or 1646-55), and again for about a year and a half (1658-60), and perhaps on secret service in England in the interval; but he may mean that he had been a devoted adherent of the royal cause since the outbreak of the troubles, i.e. from about 1640.

13. *mixt numbers*. 'Collections of heterogeneous units'.

14. *entire and continued*. 'Homogeneous and continuous'.

21. *Infallibility*. The Roman Catholic Church claims infallibility for oecumenical councils, and for the Pope speaking *ex cathedra*, i.e. when he lays down a doctrine concerning faith or morals as binding on the whole Church. The latter doctrine, although not officially formulated until 1870, had long been implicit. Cowley means that it would be as absurd to suppose that the Royalist party pretended that all its adherents were virtuous, as to suppose that the Church of Rome claimed that all her members were infallible.

22. *the reproof even of her greatest Doctors*. The correction of errors found in their teaching. Doctors of the Church are certain Saints whose doctrinal writings are regarded as of special authority, e.g. SS. Jerome, Augustine, Thomas Aquinas. The Roman Church recognizes ten Doctors of the Western Church.

25. *Congregation of the Spotless*. Cf. *Cutter of Coleman Street*, IV. v, where the Fifth Monarchy woman, Tabitha, says, 'Brother Abednego, will you not pronounce this Evening tide before the Congregation of the Spotless in Coleman-street?' Many Puritans claimed the possibility of moral perfection. In this comedy Cowley satirizes the Puritans as well as the more disreputable class of Cavaliers.

29. *to pluck their vices . . . out of the Sanctuary of any Title*. To expose the faults of unworthy members of honourable professions.

31. *A Cowardly ranting Souldier*. This is one of the chief traditional figures in the comedies which derive from Plautus, and employ stock characters or types without much attempt at individualization. The *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus is the original of Ralph Royster Doyster in the earliest English comedy, of Falstaff, of Ben Jonson's Captain Bobadill, and of Cowley's 'Colonel' Cutter.

The other types are derived from Italian comedy. The pedant is rare in English plays, though represented by Holofernes in *Love's Labour's Lost*. Nashe mentions a lost

academic play by Wingfield, called *Pedantius*, which satirized Gabriel Harvey. Examples of the 'foolish cheating lawyer' are Bramble in *Eastward Hoe*, Voltore in Jonson's *Volpone*, and Practice in his *Magnetic Lady*. The 'charlatanical doctor' is a marked Italian type; the disguised Volpone plays the part in his mountebank speech (*Volpone*, Act II).

PAGE 101. 6. *a Quack*. The doctor in *Cutter of Coleman Street*, who does not actually appear on the stage, has been bribed to send Colonel Jolly some pills, professedly to purge melancholy, but really by their violent effect to scare him with the expectation of immediate death. He is also described as given to drink, and as talking an unintelligible jargon of false Latin.

7. *Deacon Soaker*. Described as 'a little Fudling Deacon'. He consents to marry two of the characters in a dark room, the result being that each is deceived as to the identity of the other.

Butteryes. See the note to p. 32, l. 19.

13. *Sharks*. The application of the word *shark* to a swindler or sharper is perhaps due to the well-known voracity of this fish. Some authorities, however, regard 'land-shark' as the original sense. The 'sharks' are 'Colonel' Cutter and his companion Worm, who pretends to have been a Royalist Captain.

27. *vermine*. Apparently used here in the sense of a vegetable parasite, such as mistletoe.

PAGE 102. 1. *a Signe*. Sign-boards were hung before shops of all kinds, as well as taverns. There are many examples in the Guildhall Museum.

3. *will take no colour*. 'Cannot be made to look plausible or specious'.

7. *a true Gentleman*. Colonel Jolly, for whom see above.

12. *a refined exception*. 'An over-subtle objection'.

17. *Unblameable*. In Homer ἀμύμων, an honorary epithet applied to heroes, literally 'blameless', but really meaning little more than 'illustrious'.

19. *sterve*. The older spelling; so Old Engl. *steorfan*, Mid. Engl. *steruen*, to die.

20. *to refuse when that necessity was removed* . . . Colonel Jolly recovers his confiscated estate by marrying the widow Barebottle, who owned it. His daughter Aurelia is also provided for, and so he waives his claim to his niece Lucia's estate. He says in the last scene of the play, 'Though I in rigour by my brother's Will might claim the

forfeiture of her Estate, yet I assure you she shall have it all.'

26. *if his true Metal be but equal to his Alloy*. 'If the good in his character balances the evil'. *Alloy* is the older form of *alloy*; see note to p. 3, l. 9.

33. *Comedy is humble of her Nature* . . . This criticism is only very partially true. It applies chiefly to that class of comedy represented by Ben Jonson and his school, including Cowley himself, which may be traced back through Plautus and Terence to the New Comedy of Athens (Menander, Philemon, &c.), in which the leading characters are 'low' and undignified—niggardly rustics, broken soldiers, adventurers, youthful scapegraces, courtesans, and slaves. Aristophanes, on the other hand, had introduced all classes into his comedies, including leading statesmen, and 'the great and accomplisht', like Socrates and Euripides. Cowley's remarks apply indeed to *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, but not to the typical Shakespearean comedies, *As You Like It*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, or *Much Ado about Nothing*, in which the atmosphere is distinctly aristocratic, and the effect depends largely on such a play of wit as is only possible among men and women of culture and refinement, and of high and generous spirit. It is superfluous to refer to later examples.

PAGE 103. 2. *She does not pretend* . . . The satiric spirit may be compared with vinegar, but the comic spirit has the qualities of a mellow and generous wine. The distinction between the two, which is often forgotten, is well brought out in Meredith's *Essay on Comedy and the Comic Spirit*, p. 78 ff.

6. *The Lees of Romulus*: i. e. the Roman rabble. Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, II. i. 8, says of Cato, 'Dicit enim tamquam in Platonis πολιτεία, non tamquam in Romuli faece, sententiam.' Jeans, in his *Life and Letters of Cicero*, p. 38, translates the phrase, 'the Rogues' Asylum of Romulus.' Cf. p. 200, l. 3, and note.

12. *Sed nunc non erat* . . . 'But this was no occasion for these things'; Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 19.

13. *spiny objection*: i. e. a mere pin-prick.

17. *whose skulls are not yet bare upon the Gates*. The heads of the regicides who were executed at the Restoration were cut off and exposed in public places. The head of Cromwell, whose body had been exhumed, remained for many years above Westminster Hall.

22. *Vizard*. *Vizard* or *visor* is an actor's mask, as well as the part of a helmet covering the face.

Hypocrites. The Greek ὑποκριτής, whence *hypocrite*, means an actor, hence one who plays a part, a dissembler, and in the New Testament a hypocrite. Greek actors wore large masks.

24. *Harrisons return to Life*. Major-General Thomas Harrison (1606-60) was a leader of the extreme Puritans in the army and parliament. He belonged to the faction of the Fifth Monarchy men (see note to p. 77, l. 1), and was imprisoned in 1658, the year in which the action of *Cutter of Coleman Street* takes place, for alleged complicity in Venner's plot. He was executed in 1660 as a regicide, and is said to have predicted his resurrection. Thus Pepys, after mentioning Harrison's execution (*Diary*, October 13, 1660), writes, 'It is said, that he said that he was sure to come shortly at the right hand of Christ to judge them that now had judged him; and that his wife do expect his coming again.' Cowley alludes to this in a speech which he puts in the mouth of Cutter, who pretends to be a zealous Puritan. In III. xii, he says, 'I know I am to suffer for the Truth . . . As to death, Sister, but I shall gloriously return . . . I say again I am to return, and to return upon a Purple Dromadary, which signifies Magistracy . . . and then Major-General Harrison is to come in Green sleeves from the North upon a Sky-colour'd Mule, which signifies heavenly Instruction.' If the play was written in 1658, this allusion seems to have been inserted later.

PAGE 104. 4. *rechless*. Reckless. The Old Engl. *reccan*, to reck, heed, developed in Mid. Engl. into *rekken* and *recchen*, both of which occur in Chaucer.

6. *to root out the ordinary weeds of Poetry* . . . This illustrates the strong tendency of the age to give a religious and moral content to literature. The aesthetic and intellectual paganism of the Renaissance had been followed by a reaction under the stress of the Reformation and Counter-reformation, and by the middle of the seventeenth century the theological interest was for a time paramount in literature. This pervades Anglican and Roman Catholic as well as Puritan circles. Cowley's endeavour 'to plant' poetry (and prose) 'with Divinity', is manifest in his epic, the *Davideis*, in the subjects of some of his Pindaric Odes, such as 'The Resurrection', 'The Extasie', 'The 34th Chapter of Isaiah', 'The Plagues of Egypt', and in the biblical allusions which are profusely scattered through his verse and prose.

14. *innocent and white Sectaries*. The precisians who denounce irreverence where none is intended, resemble, though in a comparatively harmless way, the heretical and political Puritans.

22. *They are indeed Prophane* . . . An inverted allusion to the story in Gen. xxvii, according to which Jacob obtained from his father the blessing intended for his brother Esau, by wearing the skins of kids upon his hands, and Isaac said, 'The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau.'

27. *piece*. 'Work of art,' 'picture.'

PAGE 105. 8. *Elocution*. In the obsolete sense of 'style, expression'.

10. *I do not lay the great stress of my Reputation upon*: i. e. I would not have my reputation depend chiefly on.

18. *as Tully says*. Cicero, *In Pisonem*, 2: 'Fors domina campi,' 'chance is mistress of the field.' Cicero was generally called Tully by the older English writers, from his gentile name Tullius.

27. *Brutals*. Many adjectives which were formerly also used as substantives, are no longer used in this extended sense.

PAGE 106. 18. *Virgil*. He was assailed by two envious poetasters, Bavius and Maevius, to whom he alludes in *Eclogue* iii. 90.

19. *Passibility*. 'Liability of suffering.'

Qui melior multis . . . Lucretius iii. 1026. Speaking of the universality of death, he instances the good legendary king of Rome, Ancus Martius.

31. *Jam dente* . . . 'I am now less bitten by the tooth of envy'; Horace, *Odes*, iv. iii. 16.

PAGE 107. 5. *great rewards, and great encouragements*. Cowley alludes to the liberal patronage bestowed on Vergil, Horace, and other poets by Augustus and Maecenas, and to Charles II's neglect of his own claims.

7. *Indolency*. Used in the sense of 'freedom from pain, insensibility', like Cicero's '*indolentia*'. Cowley means, 'I do not demand gratitude from my critics, but only that they refrain from hurting me.'

ESSAYS

The Essays were first published in 1668, after Cowley's death, by his friend Thomas Sprat, afterwards Bishop of

Rochester, in his edition of the collected works. The present text follows this edition. The fact that the text of the Essays was never revised by the author may account for certain small errors to which attention is drawn in the Notes.

In the Life of Cowley which Sprat prefixed to the Works, he wrote: 'Mr. Cowley in his Will recommended to my care the revising of all his Works that were formerly printed, and the collecting of those Papers which he had design'd for the Press. And he did it with this particular Obligation, *That I should be sure to let nothing pass, that might seem the least offence to Religion or good Manners.* A Caution which you will judge to have been altogether needless . . .

'I have now set forth his Latin and English Writings, each in a Volume apart; and to that which was before extant in both Languages, I have added all that I could find in his Closet, which he had brought to any manner of perfection . . .

'The last Pieces that we have from his hands are Discourses by way of Essays, upon some of the gravest subjects that concern the Contentment of a Virtuous Mind. These he intended as a real Character of his own thoughts, upon the point of his Retirement. And accordingly you may observe, that in the Prose of them, there is little Curiosity of Ornament, but they are written in a lower and humbler style than the rest, and as an unfeigned Image of his Soul should be drawn, without Flattery. I do not speak this to their disadvantage. For the true perfection of Wit is, to be plicable to all occasions, to walk or flye, according to the Nature of every subject. And there is no doubt as much Art, to have only plain Conceptions on some Arguments, as there is in others to have extraordinary Flights.

'To these that he has here left scarce finish'd, it was his design to have added many others. And a little before his death he communicated to me his resolutions, to have dedicated them all to my Lord St. Albans, as a testimony of his entire respects to him; and a kind of Apology for having left humane Affairs, in the strength of his Age, while he might still have been serviceable to his Country.'

Cowley had been employed for many years in affairs of State under Lord St. Albans, or Lord Jermyn as he was before the Restoration. It may be surmised that he felt the need for some kind of explanation for his retirement from the public service at the age of forty-one. Each of these essays, and most conspicuously perhaps the first and the

last, has a distinct reference to this determination of the author's. Even the subjects of the fourth and fifth essays are not alien to the main theme, for Cowley had taken up the pursuits of farming and gardening with zest after his retirement. There is, it must be admitted, a considerable lack of variety, as well as of originality, in the matter of the essays. The author's thoughts continually revolve round the central idea, which is no new one, that a quiet contented life spent in rural seclusion, and devoted to meditation, literature, and self-cultivation, is more blessed than the active, restless life of the man of the world, given up to the pursuit of wealth, high place, and fame.

The source of these reflections is obvious. Just as the crabbed dialectic of *The Mistress* betrays the influence of the scholastic disputations by which the minds of University men were trained, so the *Essays* reflect the classical tradition, especially that of Roman reflective and satirical poetry, with which their minds were saturated. The contrasts between town and country, between the active and contemplative life, had belonged to the stock-in-trade of poets and rhetoricians since humanistic culture had revived the study of Horace, Vergil, Seneca, and Martial. Cowley's school reading had given a lifelong bent to his taste and moral sense.

Cowley's ideals, except in regard to science, are not those of Bacon, and although the influence of Bacon's *Essays* on those of Cowley is obvious, their styles differ widely. Bacon's is more terse, aphoristic, and pregnant with thought. He is the experienced statesman imparting magisterially the precepts of a worldly wisdom with which Cowley has little sympathy. In Bacon's essay, 'Of Great Place', with its regretful personal note, he approaches nearest to Cowley's standpoint. In the main, the essays of Cowley, in their looser, easier, and more informal structure, in their subjectivity, and their innocent and agreeable egoism, are far more akin to those of Montaigne, whom he quotes more than once.

The *Essays*, which reflect Cowley's mind at its ripest and best, were probably all written during the last few years of his life. Their style, compared with that of his earlier prose compositions, shows a decided advance in clarity and ease. Even in the preface to *Cutter of Coleman Street*, the writing is comparatively stiff and cumbrous. Indications of date in the *Essays* are very scanty. Among the earliest is perhaps the tenth, 'The danger of Procrastination', which seems to have

been written before Cowley settled at Barn Elms in 1663. The essay 'Of My Self' appears to refer to his dangerous illness at Barn Elms in December, 1663. The essay 'Of Greatness' contains a poem alluding perhaps to two comets, the later of which appeared in April, 1665. 'The Dangers of an Honest Man in Much Company' refers to Cowley's removal to Chertsey in the spring of 1665 as a not very recent event. 'The Garden' was written soon after the second edition of Evelyn's *Kalendarium Hortense* in 1666.

The translations and original poems appended to, or inserted in some of the essays, were, at least in part, written independently of them. The following were published by Cowley in his *Verses upon several Occasions* in 1663:

The Country Mouse (p. 160).

Horace to Fuscus Aristius (p. 163).

A Translation out of Virgil (p. 154).

Claudian's Old Man of Verona (p. 204).

Martial, x. 96 (p. 222).

A Paraphrase on Horace, *Odes*, III. xvi (p. 195).

Except for spelling and punctuation, the text of 1663 agrees with that of 1668.

The short fragments of verse on pp. 149, 168, 178, 182, 185, 191, are probably all of Cowley's making.

I. OF LIBERTY

PAGE 108. 5. *The Liberty of a people . . .*: i.e. among nations liberty means a democratic legislature, whether the government be termed a monarchy, a republic, or what not. Possibly, however, Cowley means, in agreement with the political theory of Thomas Hobbes, that the people has by a compact transferred its natural rights to the sovereign power, whatever form that may take. Cowley, who had been a fellow exile with Hobbes at the court of Henrietta Maria in Paris, declares his adhesion to his philosophy in the Pindaric Ode addressed to him. The same political doctrine is stated by the evil angel on p. 66, l. 25 (see note).

21. *Tenants-at-will . . . Quit-Rent*. A tenant-at-will, or yearly tenant, is rented at the approximate value of his holding. A quit-rent is a merely nominal sum exacted by the lord of the manor in lieu of feudal service from a freeholder or copy-holder, both of whom enjoy security of tenure.

PAGE 109. 4. *Esau*. Gen. xxv. 29-34.

6. *Thamar*. Tamar, Judah's daughter-in-law, gave herself

up to him under promise of a kid, demanding as pledges for the payment of it his signet, bracelets, and staff. Gen. xxxviii. 13-26.

12. *a Stoical Paradox*. The philosophers of the Stoic school, which inculcated a serene indifference to outward discomforts, made use of maxims, which they called *paradoxa* (παρὰ δόξαν, 'contrary to common opinion'); e. g. 'Only the wise man is free; all fools are slaves'.

18. *Dominationis* . . . Sallust, *Fragments*, ed. Teubner, p. 122. Cowley alters *vos* to *alios*.

24. *Atalanta*. A fleet-footed princess of Arcadia, who agreed to marry the first suitor who should defeat her in a foot-race. Meilanon won by dropping on the course three golden apples, the gift of Aphrodite.

26. *Fertur equis* . . . Vergil, *Georgics*, i. 514: 'The charioteer is borne away by the horses, and the chariot heeds not the reins.'

PAGE 110. 1. *Prætorship* . . . *Consular dignity*. In the Roman republic there were elected annually, among other officials, the two Consuls, who were the supreme magistrates, and, next in rank to them, the two Praetors, whose functions were judicial.

2. *the Habit of Suppliants*. The white *toga*, from wearing which they were called *candidati*.

4. *Tribes*. The thirty-five political divisions of the Roman people.

voices. 'Votes'.

5. *Nomenclator*. In the late Republic, a slave who performed the service here described for a candidate for office.

8. *popular*. 'Vulgar', 'low-born'.

14. *En Romanos rerum Dominos!* 'Behold the Romans, the lords of the world!' An exclamation of the Emperor Augustus, quoting Vergil, *Aeneid*, i. 282, at the sight of the rabble in the Roman forum. Suetonius, *Augustus*, 40.

17. *every Ambitious person*. In Latin, *ambitio* is properly the 'going about' of a candidate to canvass the citizens.

20. *the Beast with many heads*. The populace. Cf. Pope, *Satires and Epistles*, v. 305: 'The many-headed monster of the pit.' Cowley means that in his day the candidate for honours had not, as in ancient Rome, to flatter the multitude, but the great and influential. The origin of the expression is to be found in Plato's *Republic*, ix. 588 c, where the soul is likened to an animal with many heads (θηρίον πολυκέφαλον) of wild and tame beasts, representing the desires. In

accordance with the parallel drawn by Plato between the individual and society, the figure can be taken to represent secondarily the state, with its diverse elements, any one of which may become predominant.

28. *Catiline*. Lucius Sergius Catilina (c. 108–62 B.C.), who had been an adherent of Sulla, and was ruined through profligacy and debt, formed a conspiracy in which many of the discontented classes joined, for the overthrow of the Roman government. His first attempt having failed, he planned the firing of the city, the assassination of the leading statesmen and wealthy citizens, and the cancelling of all debts. Through the vigilance of Cicero, the revolutionary plot failed (63 B.C.). Catiline fled to Etruria, where he had raised an army, while his confederates in Rome were seized and put to death. He himself fell fighting desperately against the army of the Republic in 62. It is maintained by some that his aims have been grossly misrepresented by his political opponents.

31. *this noble Slave*. The quotation is from Cicero, *Pro M. Caelio*, v. 12–14. Catiline was a member of the ancient patrician gens of the Sergii.

PAGE III. 2. *Machiavil*. See note to p. 94, l. 3.

9. *nets of Lust and Luxury*. *Inlecebrae lubidinum*, ‘allurements of lusts’.

10. *Arms*. *Stimuli*, ‘incitements’.

20. *admirable*. *Mirabilia*, ‘wonderful’. The word *admirable* bore this sense in older English.

28. *laveer*. ‘To beat to windward’, ‘to tack’; an obsolete verb, cognate with *luff*, and borrowed from the Dutch *laveeren*, which is from the obsolete French *loveer*, mod. French *louvoyer*.

PAGE II. 8. *immanity*. ‘Enormity’. One of the many words of Latin origin (*immanitas*, as in the original) which came into the language with the revival of learning, and failed to secure a permanent place. It does not appear to have been used since the seventeenth century.

9. *covered and disguised by the appearances . . .* A mis-translation. *Nisi tot vitiorum tanta immanitas quibusdam facultatis et patientiae radicibus niteretur*, ‘had not his many monstrous vices found their support in some deeply-rooted qualities of ability and endurance’.

11. *an Anti-Paul*. Cf. 1 Cor. ix. 22: ‘I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some.’

14. *his Friend Cæsar*. Julius Caesar, like Catiline, adhered

to the democratic party, and was accused, probably falsely, of complicity in Catiline's conspiracy. The aims and characters of the two men differed widely. There is little evidence of any higher aim on the part of Catiline, who was bankrupt in reputation and purse, than the anarchistic design of using the forces of discontent, hungry veterans and peasants, proletarians and slaves, for the overthrow of the existing order. Caesar, however ambitious and unscrupulous he may have been, showed himself a clear-sighted statesman and reformer.

16. *the Civil War*. In 49 B.C. Caesar was at the head of his legions in Cisalpine Gaul, having won immense prestige by his conquests beyond the Alps. His nominal ally Pompey, who remained in Italy, had become the leader of the senatorial party, representing aristocratic privilege and resistance to popular demands. Caesar was a candidate for the consulship, but declined to be entrapped by coming to Rome to sue for office as a private person. The senate decreed illegally in the face of the veto of the tribunes that Caesar should lay down his command. His reply was to cross the Rubicon and march on Rome, while Pompey and the senatorial chiefs retired to Greece. Thus began the civil war, which led to the overthrow of Pompey and of the Republic.

22. *That it is the nature . . .* Sallust, *Catiline*, x, with *subegit* for *coegit*.

PAGE 113. 1. *Zopyrus*. According to Herodotus, iii. 150-160, Babylon revolted against Darius on his accession in 521 B.C., and was unsuccessfully besieged until Zopyrus carried out this plan of gaining it for the king.

4. *Megabyzus*. One of the seven Persian nobles who slew the false Smerdis, the usurper of the Persian throne, in 521 B.C.: Herodotus, iii. 61-79.

11. *Sufferance*. In the obsolete sense of 'suffering'.

24. *stigmatized*. In allusion to the literal meaning of the verb, which is 'to brand' or 'scar'.

PAGE 114. 3. *painful*. 'Painstaking.'

9. *made free of a Royal Company*. Rightly or wrongly, Cowley's first editor probably thought these words a continuation of the metaphor of apprenticeship. The literal meaning would then be 'having served a short apprenticeship, we are admitted to the full privileges of a society incorporated by royal charter'. Cf. p. 10, l. 22. If with later editions we omit the article it will simply mean 'admitted to the society of kings'.

18. *take it for Better or worse.* Cf. the marriage service of the Church of England, 'I M. take thee N. to my wedded wife . . . for better for worse.'

20. *Seneca.* The younger Seneca. *Ad Polybium de Consolatione*, xxvi: 'Magna servitus est magna fortuna.'

22. *Brutus.* Marcus Brutus, the republican hero, writes thus to Cicero's friend Atticus in a letter included in Cicero's Letters to Brutus, I. xvii. 4.

PAGE 115. 1. *the bravest man . . .* Cf. Cowley's Ode to Brutus, beginning:

Excellent Brutus, of all humane race
The best, till Nature was improved by Grace,

a poem which is said to have lost him the favour of Charles II.

7. *a Groom.* In the older general sense of a man-servant, still retained in the titles of court officials such as *Groom of the Great Chamber*. Cf. Old French *gromet*, a man-servant.

23. *Amatorem Trecentæ . . .* 'Three hundred chains restrain the lover Pirithous', Horace, *Odes*, III. iv. 79. This king of the Lapithæ in Thessaly was punished thus for attempting to carry off the goddess Persephone.

26. *Antichambers.* This obsolete form is due to the French original, *antichambre*, where, however, *anti-* represents *ante-*.

PAGE 116. 10. *Aliena negotia . . .* Horace, *Satires*, II. vi. 33.

12. *impertinent.* 'That do not concern him'.

14. *Dorres.* The name *dor* is applied to several insects that fly with a loud humming noise, especially the black dung-beetle or dumble-dor, and the cockchafer or maybug. Old Engl. *dora*.

24. *Parasites.* In the literal sense of the Greek *παράσιτος*, one who eats at the table of another in return for services rendered.

PAGE 117. 7. *as the Scripture speakes.* Ps. lxxix. 22: 'Let their table become a snare before them'.

15. *Pan hyper sebastus.* Παν-υπερσέβαστος, 'altogether superlatively venerable', an honorific title in the manner of the Byzantine court.

16. *Hipersuperlative.* A nonce-word. The modern spelling would be *hyper-*.

19. *Hitherto shalt thou go . . .* Job xxxviii. 11.

20. *Perditur hæc inter . . .* Horace, *Satires*, II. vi. 59.

27. *My life* (says Horace . . . A free rendering of Horace, *Satires*, I. vi. 110 ff. :

Hoc ego commodius quam tu, praeclare senator,
milibus atque aliis vivo. quacumque libido est,
incedo solus, percontor quanti holus ac far ;

and 104 f. :

Nunc mihi curto
ire licet mulo vel si libet usque Tarentum.

28. *one of these Magnifico's*. Originally a designation of the magnates of Venice, here applied to the Roman senator Tillius.

30. *cheapen*. 'Bargain or bid for', from the obsolete sb. *cheap*, Old Engl. *céap*, 'barter', 'price'.

PAGE 118. 2. *censure*. 'Judgement', 'criticism', not necessarily implying blame as in modern usage.

3-4. *Vanity* . . . *Vexation too of spirit*. Eccles. i. 14.

12. *care of yours*. Either 'the care you experience', or as Lumby explains, 'the care for those who are in your service.'

17. *Fasces*. Properly a bundle of rods with an axe carried by a lictor before a high Roman magistrate in token of the latter's authority to scourge and behead. In his poem entitled 'A Vote', Cowley had already compared a schoolmaster's rods to fasces :

I would not be a School-master, though he
His Rods no lesse than *Fasces* deemes to be.

18. *takes*. Singular in agreement with the nearer subject. Or *Fasces* and . . . *Authority* may be regarded as a single idea.

30. *O toties servus!* Horace, *Satires*, II. vii. 70.

PAGE 119. 2. *a slave in Saturnalibus*. During the Roman *Saturnalia* or festival of Saturn, held in December, in commemoration, it was said, of the Golden Age, slaves were allowed for seven days to play the part of freemen, and were even waited upon by their masters.

8. *He heapeth up Riches* . . . Ps. xxxix. 6.

12. *Vnciatim* . . . Terence, *Phormio*, I. i. 43 : 'Quod ille unciatim vix de demenso suo Suom', &c. ; 'what that miser has spared ounce by ounce with difficulty from his own daily allowance, thereby cheating his own appetite.'

15. *Genius*. In the Latin sense, the part of a man's nature which enjoys the good things of life.

PAGE 120. 2. *other*. The older form of the plural, now altered by analogy.

3. *κακὰ θηρία . . . Γαστέρες ἀργαὶ . . .* Said of the Cretans by the poet Epimenides, quoted by St. Paul, Titus i. 12. Cowley's alternative interpretation of *ἀργαὶ* is itself 'fantastical'. The adj. *ἀργός*, 'slow', 'idle', is distinct from the Homeric adj. *ἀργός*, 'bright', 'shining', which is applied to hounds in the phrase *πόδας ἀργοί*, 'with flashing or twinkling feet', hence 'swift'.

9. *Metrodorus*. Of several philosophers of this name, the one referred to was a native of Lampsacus (the second from that city), and died in 277 B.C. He was a pupil and friend of Epicurus, who would have designated him as his successor, had he survived him. Cicero affirms that he made the belly the test and measure of happiness, and that he placed perfect happiness in the possession of a well-constituted body, and the knowledge that it would remain so. (Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.*, I. 40, § 113; *De Finibus*, II. 28.)

10. *Ἀληθῶς γαστρὶ χαρίζεσθαι*. Cowley has mistranslated this expression, which means 'truly to gratify or indulge the belly'. I have not found these words attributed to Metrodorus, but Athenaeus, vii. 279, in a passage where Metrodorus is mentioned, quotes *γαστρὶ χαρίζόμενος* from Epicurus.

11. *the Calumniators of Epicurus his Philosophy*. Epicurus taught that pleasure is the highest good, but maintained that it can only be found in the tranquillity and durable capacity for enjoyment secured by wise moderation. It is an ancient calumny to represent him as placing the end of life in mere momentary sensual indulgence.

The use of *his* after a noun to mark the possessive, though of much older origin, is especially common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, particularly with names ending in *-s*. The possessive suffix was sometimes, as by Addison, erroneously stated to be an abbreviation of *his*.

19. *Triumviri*. At the end of 43 B.C. the three men who, after the death of Julius Caesar, divided between them the military power of Rome—Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus—came to an agreement, and were by vote of the people constituted a triumvirate or commission of three, to regulate the commonwealth. (This is known as the second triumvirate, although the first, that of Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus, was merely a private compact.) M. Aemilius Lepidus played a feeble part in the league. In the year 36 he fell out with

Octavian, was deserted by his army, and retired into private life. In 31 the defeat of Antony at Actium left Octavian, afterwards the Emperor Augustus, master of the Roman world. The characters of the *triumviri* corresponded in the main with Cowley's description.

23. *Quisnam igitur* . . . Horace, *Satires*, II. vii. 83: 'Who then is free? The wise, who rules himself.' The following lines are a free translation of the passage.

24. *Oenomaus*. A mythical king of Pisa in Elis, who was told by an oracle that he should be killed by his son-in-law. His horses being the swiftest in the world, he forced all the suitors of his daughter Hippodameia to compete with him in chariot races, the losers forfeiting their lives. At last his charioteer Myrtilus was bribed by the hero Pelops to remove the linch-pins from the wheels, and in the race the chariot was overturned, and Oenomaus killed.

PAGE 121. 3. *Honour*. 'Contemnerc honores fortis', 'Strong to despise honours.'

17. *King James*. Lumby states that he has not found this saying in James I's published writings.

19. *High-Constable*. Formerly an officer of a Hundred, charged with the duties of preserving the peace and raising the militia. An Act of Henry VIII ordains that the Justice of the Peace shall appoint to the office 'a substantial gentleman or yeoman'. The office was abolished in 1869.

25. *Creatures*. Things created, whether animate or not. For this definition of philosophy compare p. 24, l. 16, and note.

PAGE 122. 13. *MARTIAL*. These three poems are free paraphrases rather than translations.

14. *Vota tui breviter*. Martial, I. lv.

PAGE 123. 10. *Vis fieri Liber?* Martial, II. liii.

22. *The Persian King's*. 'Parthian' in Martial. Persia was under a Parthian dynasty. In Roman poetry the Persian king was a type of splendid luxury. Cf. Horace, *Odes*, III. ix. 4: 'Persarum vigui rege beatior.'

24. *Quod te nomine*. Martial, II. lxviii.

PAGE 124. 4. *the Freemans Hat*. A felt cap, called *pileus* or *pileum*, was given to a slave on manumission as a badge of freedom. Hence the Revolutionary 'cap of liberty'. Martial has here 'Totis pilea sarcinis redemi', 'I have bought back my hats with all my goods', i.e. I have given all I possessed to recover my liberty.

13-16. *seat* . . . *Great*. This is not a rime for the eye only. The word *great* rimes twelve times in the poems in this

volume, six times with *seat*, three times with *retreat*, twice with *cheat*, and once with *eat*. The vowels in all these words were still sounded approximately as in *great* at the present day. Towards the middle of the eighteenth century the open vowel represented by *ea* (phonetically ē) shifted to the vowel in the modern *cheat* (phonetically ī), except in a few words like *great*, *break*, where the older sound was protected by the preceding *r*; but in the mouths of some speakers even these followed the general rule for a time. This can hardly have been the case as early as Cowley's time. Cf. Sweet, *Hist. of English Sounds*, §§ 822, 1740.

18. *Bridewell*. Properly a house of correction for idle and dissolute persons, which stood in Bridge Street, Blackfriars, London, near a holy well dedicated to St. Bride or Bridget. The name came to be applied generally to similar institutions.

whipt, *To the laborious task of Bread*. 'Compelled by means of the whip to work for their bread.'

25. *the Misguiding Light*. The will-o'-the-wisp, or *ignis fatuus*.

PAGE 125. 2. *insulting*. Literally, 'leaping upon one'; hence, 'assailing'.

6. *Impertinencies*. See note to p. 16, l. 6.

18. *the noisy Hall*. Westminster Hall, which was used as the vestibule to the four great Courts of King's Bench, the Exchequer, Common Pleas, and Chancery.

20. *The steam of Business*. Later editions read 'stream', which seems to be a conjectural but unnecessary emendation of a more difficult but more forcible phrase. Cf. the figurative use of 'fume'.

PAGE 126. 15. *the false Forest of a well-hung Room*. An allusion to the kind of tapestry described in the essay 'Of Greatness' as 'pretty forest-work hangings' (p. 183, l. 16).

17. *ye Heroick Race*. Birds.

18. *their*. Carelessly put for 'your'.

20. *Material*. 'Embodied'.

23. *Whilst wretched we . . .* Man boasts that he looks up to heaven, his erect posture proclaiming his superiority to the beasts. Birds do more than look up, they soar up to heaven.

27. *degenerous*. An obsolete alternative to *degenerate*. It was introduced later, and used occasionally for a century and a half.

unbirdly. A nonce-word, on the analogy of *unmanly*.

29. *Foul*. A collective plural.

PAGE 127. 12. *Dover, Barwick, or the Cornish Mount*. The three extremities of England. 'Barwick' is Berwick. 'The Cornish Mount' is St. Michael's Mount.

20. *The Rhodian Colossus*. The famous statue of the Sun-god at the port of Rhodes, some 120 feet high.

PAGE 128. 5. *The Bondman of the Cloister*. The monk has disposed of his time in advance, by vowing obedience to his rule. The bell announces no boon, but only obligations.

12. *If Life should a well-order'd Poem be . . .* In the elaborate comparison which concludes this ode, Cowley draws a parallel between the two ways of life that he has been describing, on the one hand, and the Epic and Pindaric styles of poetry, on the other. The life which is in bondage to ambition must keep to the high road of routine, which is formal, circuitous, and often dull and trivial. In this it resembles the Heroic or Epic poem, which, according to the literary canons of the day, must adhere strictly to one monotonous metrical form, the heroic couplet, while in accordance with ancient precedent, it must involve the order of the narrative, and introduce digressions or episodes by appropriate transitions. The descriptions must be ample and detailed, dealing with the most varied, and even commonplace, phases of life. On the other hand, the life of true liberty, which scorns ambition, is bound by no rule except that of selecting the noblest ends and pursuing them directly. It thus resembles the so-called Pindaric Ode. This strange form of verse is discussed in the notes on the preface to the Pindaric Odes, pp. 237-40. In Cowley's 'Pindaric', the poet chooses a lofty theme, and goes straight to the point, from thought to thought, like an eagle that selects the richest morsels in a carcass, and leaves the rest. This poem is an example of the Pindaric Ode.

13. *the white*. The centre of the target, the bull's eye.

26. *Nor shall it never . . .* 'Nor shall it (i. e. my life, which is to resemble a Pindaric ode) make it a rule never to spring aside from its main occupation, or to turn to another only by delicate modulations.' Cf. Cowley in the Preface of 1656 (p. 12) of Pindaric odes: 'The digressions are many, and sudden, and sometimes long.'

29. *thorough*. A variant of 'through', now differentiated.

PAGE 129. 3. *the Imperial Eagle*. So Gray, in his Pindaric ode, *The Progress of Poesy*, 115, calls Pindar 'the Theban Eagle'.

2. OF SOLITUDE

About two months before his death Cowley corresponded with John Evelyn on this subject. Sir George Mackenzie (1636-91) had published in 1665 *A Moral Essay upon Solitude, preferring it to Public Employment, &c.* Evelyn replied with an essay called *Public Employment and an Active Life with its Appanages preferred to Solitude*, published Feb. 15, 1667. He sent a copy to Cowley, and wrote assuring him that he was not serious in taking this attitude, for, he says, 'there is no person alive who dos more honor and breath after the life and repose you so happily cultivate and adorne by your example.' Cowley wrote to Evelyn from Chertsey, May 13, 1667: 'Since I had the honour to receive from yow the reply to a book written in praise of a Solitary Life, I have sent all about the town in vain to get the author, haveing very much affection for the subject, which is one of the noblest controversies both Modern and Ancient, & you have delt so civilly with your Adversary as makes him deserve to bee look'd after.' Being unable to obtain a copy of Mackenzie's book, he asks for a loan of it. The letter is preserved in W. Bray's *Memoirs of Evelyn*.

13. *Nunquam minus solus* . . . 'Never less alone than when alone.' Quoted by Cicero, *De Re Publica*, i. 27.

14. *vulgar*. 'Popular', 'trite', 'hackneyed'.

17. *Scipio*. P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus the Elder (237-183 B. C.), one of the greatest of Roman commanders, and a man of brilliant and versatile character, though marred by arrogance, nepotism, and contempt for the constitution. He inspired his contemporaries with his own belief that he was a special favourite of the gods. From the beginning of his career he was wont, before undertaking any business, to spend some time in solitary meditation in the Capitol, and declared, probably sincerely, that on these occasions he received divine counsel, which he scrupulously followed (Livy, xxvi. 19). Cowley's hyperbolical language is presumably only meant to exalt Scipio above all his contemporaries.

18. *Witty*. 'Intellectual.'

23. *to shew that he spoke not this loosly*. The motive of Scipio's retirement seems to have been scornful disgust at the unwarranted charges of corruption and embezzlement brought against him by the democratic party.

24. *he had made Rome, Mistress of almost the whole World.* Another example of hyperbole, although Mommsen writes (*Hist. of Rome*, Engl. transl., ii. 282 f.): 'He had added to the empire Spain, Africa, and Asia [roughly, South and East Spain, Tunisia, West Asia Minor]; and Rome, which he had found merely the first community of Italy, was at his death mistress of the civilized world.' Scipio conquered the greater part of Spain (210-206), broke the power of Carthage at Zama (202), and organized the campaign against Antiochus III of Syria, which laid Asia Minor at the feet of Rome, though he was not present at the decisive battle of Magnesia (190).

27. *Linternum.* More commonly called Liternum, a city of Campania, and Scipio's native place.

29. *Seneca.* The younger Seneca, *Epistles*, xiii. 1.

PAGE 130. 5. *Hannibal.* His policy was throughout guided by the conviction that Rome was the mortal enemy of Carthage. The only lack of wisdom in his adversity with which he can fairly be charged was a patriotic disregard of his personal safety. After his withdrawal from Italy, the remainder of his life was one long disinterested effort to injure Rome. Finding that a faction at Carthage was about to betray him to the Romans, he took refuge with Antiochus III of Syria, advised him to invade Italy, and commanded his fleet against the Rhodian allies of Rome. He afterwards led the Bithynians to a victory over another ally of Rome, Eumenes of Pergamum; but ultimately, finding escape from the emissaries of Rome impossible, he took poison.

9. *colourably.* 'Plausibly'.

Montagne. Montaigne, *Essais*, I. xxxviii ('De la Solitude'): 'Respondons à l'ambition, Que c'est elle mesme qui donne goust de la solitude: car, que fuit elle tant que la société?'

14. *I, and Ushers too.* *I* is the oldest recorded form of the interjection *aye*, and is very common in the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. In spite of the difference of pronunciation, which may be due to dialect, *aye*, 'yes,' is perhaps identical with the adverb *ay*, 'ever.' The *N. E. D.* pronounces for these spellings, though many writers interchange them. An *usher*, properly a door-keeper, from Old French (*h*)*uissier*, Lat. *ostiarius*, was a servant who walked before a person of rank, to open doors and announce him, &c. This use of the word survives in the titles of court officials.

21. *humane.* See note to p. 2, l. 30.

25. *importunate*. 'Unseasonable,' 'out of place,' like Lat. *importunus*.

26. *Tecum vivere amem* . . . Horace, *Odes*, III. ix. 24.

28. *Sic ego secretis* . . . Tibullus, IV. xiii. 9.

PAGE 131. 6. *conversation*. 'Intercourse,' 'communion,' not necessarily implying speech.

11. *Odi & Amo* . . . Catullus, lxxxv.

13. *to*. A seventeenth-century spelling of *too*.

21. *a Fop*. 'A fool'; the original meaning, now obsolete. Cf. the development of the word *coxcomb*, originally a court fool, also of the French *fat*, a fop, from Lat. *fatuus*.

PAGE 132. 5. *Parricides*. The murderer of a near relative (Lat. *parricida*), not necessarily of a father, was thrown into the sea in a bag with an ape, a dog, an adder, and a cock.

14. *the Solitude of a God*. Aristotle observes, *Politics*, I. 2. 14: He who cannot associate with others, or by reason of self-sufficiency has need of nothing, is no part of a state, so that he is either a beast or a god.

25. *O vita* . . . An inexact quotation from Publilius Syrus, *Sententiae*, 476; 'O vita misero longa, felici brevis.'

PAGE 133. 5. *Methusalem*. Cf. note to p. 96, l. 2.

11. *divertisements*. 'Diversions'.

30. *O quis me gelidis* . . . 'Oh who will place me beneath the cold mountains of Haemus, and shelter me in a vast shade of boughs?' An inexact quotation from Vergil, *Georgics*, ii. 488, which reads 'qui . . . in vallibus' ('in the cool vales'). Haemus is the mountain-range now called the Great Balkan, in Bulgaria.

PAGE 134. 11. *Here Nature* . . . Cf. p. 163, 28 f.: 'Would I a house,' &c.

23. *enamel'd*. An epithet often applied by the Elizabethan and Caroline poets to the greensward.

PAGE 135, 7, 9. *find* . . . *joyn'd*. With this rime cf. *vine*: *joyn* (p. 158, l. 11), *conjoyn*: *design* (p. 189, l. 8), *toil*: *while* (p. 193, l. 1; p. 209, l. 13). The diphthong *oi*, which is in almost every case of French origin, passed into the sound *ui*, which in Cowley's day had become indistinguishable from the diphthongal sound represented in the written language by *i*. Thus *boil* and *bile*, *toil* and *tile* were sounded alike, until in the latter half of the eighteenth century the spelling caused the sounds to be again distinguished in educated speech, as is still the case. The former pronunciation survives as a vulgarity in such words as *join*, *boil*, *oil*, *poison* (jine, bile, ile, pison). Cf. H. Sweet, *Hist. Engl. Sounds*, §§ 853, 854.

14. *the Branchy head* . . . Multiplicity sprang from unity ; created beings from God.

PAGE 136. 7. *the*. A seventeenth-century spelling of *thee*.

8. *thy Millions*. In 1661 the population of London was about 460,000. Grossly exaggerated estimates were prevalent ; thus in 1631 James Howell guessed that London had a million and a half inhabitants.

9. *Islington*. This rustic village has become the largest of the metropolitan boroughs, with 330,000 inhabitants.

To the extravagant pessimism of this stanza there contributed Cowley's disgust at a dissolute and ungrateful court, with its crowd of worthless hangers-on, his Royalist dislike of the Puritanical (in his eyes, hypocritical) masses of the shop-keeping and artisan class, and above all, the rhetorical tradition of the Roman satirists, with their favourite antithesis of rustic innocence and urban depravity.

3. OF OBSCURITY

12. *Nam neque Divitibus* . . . Horace, *Epistles*, I. xvii. 9.

16. *the world deceiv'd*. As Cowley was well aware, the Latin verb *fallere* not only means 'to deceive' in the ordinary sense, but also 'to beguile' (time, &c.), 'elude', and as an absolute verb 'to escape notice', 'lie hidden'. *Deceive* was sometimes used in these senses, as a deliberate Latinism, for which the *N. E. D.* quotes Florio, Dryden, and Cowper. Cowley is here playing upon the ambiguity of the Latin and English words.

24. *Secretum iter* . . . Horace, *Epistles*, I. xviii. 103.

PAGE 137. 2. *bear up to that sence*. 'Express that meaning adequately'.

3. *Mr. Broom*. Alexander Brome (1620-66) wrote Bacchanalian songs and satires on the Roundheads, and edited a translation of Horace, published in the year of his death, to which he himself as well as Cowley and others contributed.

8. *Sometimes with sleep* . . . Horace, *Satires*, II. vii. 114 :

Iam vino quaerens, iam somno fallere curam ;

better rendered by Conington, 'you seek In bed or in your cups from care to sneak.'

11. *Quintilian*. *Declamatio* xiii, *De Apibus Pauperis* (spurious).

12. *amuse*. In the older sense, 'to divert from business with idle fancies' ; much like 'bemuse'.

16. *vulgar*. 'Popular', 'trite'.

Bene qui latuit . . . Ovid, *Tristia*, III. iv. 25.

27. *Æneas and his Achates.* Vergil, *Aeneid*, I. 411 ff. :

At Venus obscuro gradientes aere saepsit,
et multo nebulae circum dea fudit amictu,
cernere ne quis eos, neu quis contingere posset.

The name of *fidus Achates* has become proverbial for a constant companion.

PAGE 138. 5. *Demosthenes's confession.* Cicero, *Tuscul. Disp.*, V. xxxvi. 103 : 'Leviculus sane noster Demosthenes, qui illo susurro delectari se dicebat aquam ferentis mulierculae, ut mos in Graecia est, insusurrantisque alteri : "Hic est ille Demosthenes".'

6. *in hearing of a Tanker-woman say.* The redundant 'of' is due to confusion with the substantival construction 'in (the) hearing of a tanker-woman, who said'. *Tanker-woman* = tankard-woman, i.e. a water-carrier. Cf. the above quotation. *Tankard* is a more correct form than the obsolete *tanker*; cf. Dutch *tanckaert*, obs. French *tanquart*.

8. *wonderful ridiculous.* The old adverbial use of the adjective, which survives in vulgar speech.

I my self have often met with that temptation. Cowley was the most fashionable poet of his day.

12. *Democritus.* The famous atomistic philosopher of Abdera, fl. c. 460 B.C. See note on p. 202, l. 6. The anecdote is in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers*, *Democritus*, v.

14. *commodity.* 'Advantage', 'profit'.

17. *his Gardens.* It was here that Epicurus taught his disciples.

18. *Metrodorus.* See note to p. 120, l. 9.

19. *one of his letters.* The passage is a free rendering of Seneca, *Epist. Mor.*, x. 3 (79), § 15 : '(Epicurus) ignotus ipsi Athenis fuit, circa quas delituerat. Multis itaque iam annis Metrodoro suo superstes in quadam epistula, cum amicitiam suam et Metrodori grata commemoratione cecinisset, hoc novissime adiecit : "Nihil sibi et Metrodoro inter bona tanta nocuisse, quod ipsos illa nobilis Graecia non ignotos solum habuisset, sed paene inauditos."'

commemoration. 'Mention', as the Latin *commemoratio*.

28. *engage into.* 'Entangle or involve ourselves in'.

31. *a Quotidian Ague of frigid impertinencies.* A daily onset of other people's affairs, which chill the heart and agitate the mind.

PAGE 139. 4. *Mountebank*. See note to p. 74, l. 5.

6. *Every creature* . . . Every product of nature or of art, if only it is extraordinary, has the honour of being pointed at.

8. *Bucephalus*. Alexander's war-horse ('Bull-head'), after which a city in India was named.

9. *Incitatus*. Domitian's horse ('Speedy'), which is said to have been elected Consul.

18. *St. Peter*. Acts v. 15: 'They brought forth the sick into the streets . . . that at the least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them.'

20. *the Glory of Cato and Aristides*. Both M. Porcius Cato the Censor (234-149 B.C.) and his great-grandson of the same name (94-46 B.C.), who perished at Utica, were famous for their 'honesty', i.e. the uncompromising severity with which they upheld the old Roman moral standards. The elder Cato made many enemies by his incessant denunciations of luxury and corruption, and was impeached forty-four times, though only once successfully, when he was fined two talents for abuse of his censorial authority. Cowley perhaps refers to Cato of Utica, who made his ancestor his model, and from his love of old Republican traditions joined the assassins of Julius Caesar. The defeat of the party led to his suicide. Aristides, the famous Athenian statesman of the early fifth century B.C., was surnamed 'the Just', an invidious distinction, which is said to have been one cause of his banishment. We are told that an ignorant citizen, who knew nothing about him, voted for his ostracism, simply because it irritated him to hear him everywhere called the Just (Plutarch, *Aristides*, ch. 7).

29. *commerce*. 'Intercourse'.

PAGE 140. 7. *Augustus*. Suetonius, *Vita Augusti*, 99: 'ecquid iis videretur mimum vitae commode transegisse.'

10. *Seneca*. The *Thyestes* is one of the tragedies of the younger Seneca. These lines are a free paraphrase of one of the choric songs in it.

PAGE 141. 2. *Scutcheon*. 'A hatchment', i.e. a tablet containing the armorial bearings of a deceased person, set up on his house, or in a church. There is nothing corresponding in Seneca.

4. OF AGRICULTURE

12. *The first wish of Virgil*. 'Philosopher' is here one who studies the laws of Nature. (Cf. note to p. 24, l. 16.)

Cowley refers to *Georgics*, ii. 475 ff.: 'Me vero primum dulces ante omnia Musae', &c., where Vergil expresses the wish in the first place to learn the principles of natural philosophy, and to gain the freedom from superstitious fear which such knowledge brings, and secondly, if these studies are too high for him, to be enabled to enjoy country life. He proceeds to contrast the life and labours of the farmer with those of the townsman and politician. (See Cowley's paraphrase, p. 155, l. 3 ff.) The writing of the *Georgics* shows Vergil to have been 'a good husbandman'.

14. *God (whom he seem'd to understand . . .)*. This reputation was due, not only to his profoundly religious temper, but chiefly to the fourth Eclogue, long understood as a Messianic prophecy. The Middle Ages considered Vergil the chief 'prophet of the Gentiles'.

16. *Solomon*. 1 Kings iii. 11-14.

21. *He made him . . . a rich man*. Vergil's patrimonial estate, a farm near Mantua, was lost during the Civil Wars, but restored on his application to Octavianus (Augustus).

23. *O Fortunatus . . .* 'O too fortunate man, and one who knew the things that were good for him.' Altered from a line of Vergil's own, *Georgics*, ii. 458: 'O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint, Agricolas.'

PAGE 142. 3. *Columella*. Col., *De Re Rustica*, i. 1. See note to p. 40, l. 1.

6. *Varro*. Var., *De Re Rustica*, i. 4. See note to p. 40, l. 1.

7. *Ennius*. The greatest of the older Latin poets, a Calabrian, who flourished c. 200 B.C. His works, chiefly epic and dramatic, are lost, except some fragments.

8. *the Sun*. Put for the 'element' of fire.

11. *Cicero*. *De Senectute*, xv. 51.

15. *The Utility . . .* With this whole passage compare Cowley's *Proposition*, especially p. 25.

22. *Estates*. 'Positions in society', or perhaps 'fortunes'.

23. *fetched from the Plow*. Cowley alludes to the cases of Cincinnatus and M'. Curius Dentatus, who were both models of the old Roman simplicity. The former is said to have been twice summoned from the plough to be dictator, in 458 and 439 B.C. Dentatus, who lived in the most frugal way upon his farm, was thrice elected consul: in 290 B.C., when he defeated the Samnites and Sabines; in 275, when he triumphed over Pyrrhus and the Samnites; and again in 274, when he concluded the war. See Cicero, *De Senectute*, xvi. 55.

A Dictator was an extraordinary magistrate, invested with absolute powers in times of national emergency.

PAGE 143. 10. *stock*. 'Farm-stock', 'equipment'.

26. *Tropes*. Literally 'turns', Greek *τρόποι*, hence figurative uses of words.

30. *beholding to this*. Modern usage has returned to the older and correct form *beholden*, past participle of *behold* in the otherwise obsolete sense 'to hold under obligation, oblige'. The false form *beholding*, very common in the seventeenth century, seems due to the notion that the word meant 'looking'.

PAGE 144. 8. *an Estate cheated*. We now say 'to cheat a person of a thing', but the older use is here retained, and possibly something of the older and milder sense. To *cheat* is properly 'to escheat, confiscate'. Robert Greene, in his *Art of Cheating*, says that gamesters euphemistically called themselves cheaters. In any case, Cowley here indulges in his customary rhetorical exaggeration. For a similar sweeping condemnation of townsmen compare p. 136, ll. 6 ff.

19. *all other Trades . . . set forth whole Troopes*. Especially the London City Companies, which in the trained bands furnished important contingents for the Parliamentary army.

20. *raised up some great Commanders*. Thomas Harrison was the son of a butcher. Robert Blake was the son of a merchant, and was probably engaged in trade himself. Numerous members of the landed gentry, including Cromwell, may be said to have represented agriculture.

24. *twenty years ruine*. The First Bishops' War, which began 'the troubles', broke out in 1639. The first encounter was the Scottish victory at Newburn in 1640, twenty years before the Restoration.

25. *if great delights . . .* This sentence is very characteristic of Cowley's inert and unadventurous temper.

PAGE 145. 1. *Policy*. Political scheming, here as often with a suggestion of craft.

6. *Sophisticated*. Flavoured or seasoned, so as to disguise their natural taste. Cf. p. 3, l. 16, and note.

12. *the most natural and best natur'd of all others*. This curiously illogical idiom is not uncommon in Greek and Latin authors. Cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, iv. 323-4:

Adam the goodliest man of men since born
His sons; the fairest of her daughters Eve.

20. *Creatures*. 'Products', 'creations'.

21. *like God*. Gen. i. 31.

23. *Hinc atque hinc* . . . 'On this side and on that the Mountain Nymphs cluster; joys pervade the silent breast of the husbandman himself.' Fancifully adapted from Vergil, *Aeneid*, i. 499-502 :

Exercet Diana choros, quam mille secutae
hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades : . . .

Latonae tacitum pertentant gaudia pectus.

Latona is Diana's mother.

28. *a Ploughman, and a Grazier*. Cain and Abel; Gen. iv. 2: 'Abel was a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the ground.'

PAGE 146. 2. *turn'd Builder*. Gen. iv. 17.

3. *Ecclesiasticus*. Eccclus. vii. 15: 'Hate not laborious work, neither husbandry, which the Most High hath ordained' (*creatam ab Altissimo*).

13. *Lilies, and Lions* . . . Three lilies or *fleurs-de-lis* were borne on the arms of the Kings of France, a lion rampant on those of the Kings of Scots, and a spread-eagle on those of the Emperors, both of the East and the West.

14. *Fields d'Or, or d'Argent*. In heraldic language a *field* is the ground or surface of an escutcheon. The tincture of the field may be a colour, a metal, or a fur. The heraldic metals are *or* and *argent*, i. e. gold and silver.

16. *a Field Arable*. Cowley imitates the language of heraldry, which, following French usage, places the adjective after its noun.

19. *Columella*. *De Re Rustica*, Prologue: 'Adhuc enim scholas rhetorum et (ut dixi) geometrarum musicorumque, vel quod magis mirandum est contemptissimum vitorum officinas gulosius condiendi cibos, et luxuriosius fercula struendi, capitumque et capillorum concinnatores non solum esse audiui sed et ipse vidi: agricolationis neque doctores qui se profiterentur neque discipulos cognovi.'

22. *us Husbandmen*. Cf. p. 151, l. 4, 'us peasants'. Cowley writes as a practical agriculturist. After the Restoration he lived in retirement, cultivating a small estate, first at Barn Elms, then at Chertsey.

Metaphysick, Physick . . . The English use of these words has fluctuated between singular and plural. In Greek we find (a) ἡ φυσική, μαθηματική (*sc. ἐπιστήμη*), ἡ λογική,

ῥητορικὴ (sc. τέχνη), whence Lat. fem. sing. *physica*, *mathematica*, &c.; (b) τὰ φυσικά, τὰ μαθηματικά, τὰ λογικά, τὰ ῥητορικά, properly the collected writings of an author, especially of Aristotle, on these subjects, whence Lat. neut. pl. *physica*, *logica*, *rhetorica* (apparently not *mathematica*). In Scotland the pl. 'logics' is still used.

Metaphysic(s), med. Lat. *metaphysica*, is a word formed by the mediaeval Aristotelians from the Greek μετὰ τὰ φυσικά 'after the physical treatises', because the study of metaphysics followed that of physics, and Aristotle's works were arranged in this order.

Physick. Natural science in general. The sense has been gradually narrowed, so that now chemistry and biology are excluded from physics.

26. *Vaulting*. As a branch of horsemanship.

27. *Carving*. The art of cutting up meat.

PAGE 147. 6. *Dancing*. As a natural expression of enthusiastic feeling, and as a stimulus to it, dancing has in many countries formed a part of worship from the earliest times, though we are not justified in ascribing to it, as Cowley does, an exclusively religious origin. We find the Israelites dancing before the golden calf (Exod. xxxii. 6, 19). Cybele or Rhea, the Great Mother of the gods, is said by Lucian to have invented dancing, and to have taught it to her attendants the Corybantes in Phrygia, and the Curetes in Crete, in which countries her priests performed wild dances in her honour. Dances took place at most religious festivals in Greece, especially among the Dorians, and in the worship of Apollo. At Rome, the Salii were dancing priests of Mars. Under the Republic, dancing was thought unseemly, except as a religious rite. Cicero observes (*Pro Murena*, 6): 'Nemo fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit.'

7. *the Heathen Religion*. Cowley means the polytheistic cults of the ancient world, which in his day were erroneously regarded as parts of one system.

Mommery. Mummery, as it is now spelt, is any ridiculous ceremonial; properly a performance of mummers, persons disguised in various fanciful masks and costumes, who acted, and in many places still act, a traditional play, generally at Christmas time. The custom is probably a survival of a pagan rite.

9-10. *Madness . . . Inspiration*. The religious frenzy into which the dancers in orgiastic worships worked themselves, the god being supposed to enter the bodies of his worshippers.

22. *one Colledge in each University.* At Cambridge, Caius College was specially intended for the study of medicine, and Trinity Hall of law, though in neither case exclusively. They have now lost much of their specific character.

27. *Halls in Oxford.* These are smaller institutions than the Colleges, and have no Fellows.

29. *Master.* The title of the heads of most Colleges at Cambridge, and of some at Oxford.

30. *Principal.* The title of the heads of Halls and of some Colleges at Oxford.

31. *Aration.* 'Ploughing;' a rare word.

PAGE 148. 1. *Rural Oeconomy.* A century later, John Sibthorp (d. 1796) founded the professorship of Rural Economy at Oxford.

4. *Villaticas Pastiones.* The rearing of farmyard stock, of such animals as are kept at a *villa* or country house. Varro, *De Re Rustica*, III. ii. 13, writes of 'villaticum genus pastionis', and Columella, VII. xiii. 3, has the phrase 'pastiones villaticae'.

6. *parts of Housekeeping.* As supplying food. Also in Cowley's day foxes, otters, and other noxious beasts were still numerous enough to make their destruction a task of economic importance as well as a sport.

8. *The business of these Professors . . . Cf. Proposition.*

12. *Pliny.* Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*.

Varro . . . Columella. Authors of treatises entitled *De Re Rustica*.

19. *Ostentation of Critical Literature.* 'Parade of classical learning', such as is mentioned above.

22. *Mr. Hartlib.* Samuel Hartlib, a Prussian merchant settled in England, and a friend of Milton, wrote on educational and agricultural reform. Having exhausted his fortune by farming experiments, he received a pension from Cromwell, but lost it at the Restoration, and lived in great obscurity. In 1670 he seems to have fled to Holland from his creditors.

29. *Poetry was Born among the Shepherds.* Cowley apparently refers to Hesiod (see below), possibly also to David.

31. *Nescio qua Natale solum . . . Ovid, Epistulae ex Ponto*, I. iii. 35 f. Cowley has changed *cunctos* to *Musas*.

PAGE 149. 2. *Thas.* Cf. *Thad* on p. 171, l. 8. This peculiar form is probably used instead of 'Thas', 'Thad', to make it clear that *th* has not its ordinary sound.

7. *As well might Corn . . .* A one-sided and sentimental view, highly characteristic of the author, but hardly borne

out by facts. Athens, Rome, Paris, and London, to name no other cities, have produced a large share of the world's greatest poetry. To give but one example, *Paradise Lost* was written in London. It is true, however, that just as poetry in Cowley's day was becoming more and more a town product, it was losing its fresh observation of nature and insight into it. This is notably the case with Cowley himself, who, after all, was more of a Cockney than a peasant. The change is intimately connected with the rise of satire, to which he alludes below, and with the loss of the higher imagination and lyrical enthusiasm, which depressed the level of English poetry, till countrymen like Burns and Wordsworth brought it back to Nature.

18. *Pariter vitiisque* . . . 'They have lifted up their heads alike above the vices and the jests of mankind', Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 299 f., with *locis* for Cowley's *iocis*.

21. *Hesiod*. He may be assigned to the eighth century, a period considerably later than that of the Homeric poems. Cowley refers to his *Works and Days*, a kind of didactic shepherds' and farmers' calendar in verse.

26. *Columella*. *De Re Rustica*, i. i: 'celeberrimus vates non minimum professioni nostrae contulit Hesiodus Boeotius.'

PAGE 150. 10. Νήπιοι, οὐδὲ ἴσασιν . . . Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 40. Literally 'childish ones, who know not how much more the half is than the whole, nor how great profit is in mallow and asphodel, for the gods keep life hidden from [such] men.'

PAGE 151. 1. *Laertes*. *Odyssey*, xxiv. 226 ff.

5. *Eumæus*. *Id.*, xv. 301, &c. The adj. δῖος, 'divine', is frequently used in Homer for 'noble', 'excellent'.

8. *Menelaus or Agamemnon*. The two chief leaders of the Greek army that warred against Troy. Menelaus was King of Lacedaemon, and Agamemnon King of Mycenae and commander of the Greek host. They were sons of Atreus, and through their ancestor Pelops, descended from Zeus.

Theocritus. He flourished about 270 B.C. There is no good authority for assigning to him the poem on Heracles from which these words (*Theocr.*, *Idylls*, xxv. 51) are quoted. A better reading than ἀγρότης, a rustic, is ἀροτρεύς, a ploughman.

10. *he wrote nothing but Pastorals*. In addition to his pastoral poems or *Idylls*, some inscriptions or Epigrams are extant.

17. *Mæcnas*. The chief minister of Augustus, a wealthy

and influential Roman, who afforded patronage to Vergil, Horace, and other poets.

23. *Imperial Poem*. The *Aeneid* is so called because its subject is the founding of the Roman nation.

24. *Evander*. A legendary Arcadian, who came to Italy and founded the town of Pallantium on the Palatine Hill at Rome. Vergil makes him welcome Aeneas, *Aeneid*, viii.

PAGE 152. 3. *complément*. The form *compliment*, derived through French from the Italian *complimento*, in the specialized sense 'fulfilment of the duties of courtesy', was not yet clearly differentiated from the older *complément*.

3. *the Escorial, the Louvre, or our Whitehall*. At this time the royal palaces of Spain, France, and England. See p. 171, l. 9, and note.

5. *Hæc (inquit) limina . . . Aeneid*, viii. 362 ff. Evander told his guest Aeneas how Hercules (called Alcides after his putative grandfather Alceus) had visited him after slaying the giant Cacus.

15. *his dear friend Horace*. Cf. Horace, *Satires*, I. v. 40 ff., and *Odes*, I. iii. 6 ff., where he calls Vergil 'the half of my soul'.

20. *ut nos in Epistolis . . .* 'That he may help us in writing letters'. Inexactly quoted from Suetonius, *Vita Horati*: 'veniet ergo ab ista parasitica mensa ad hanc regiam, et nos in epistulis scribendis adiuvabit.'

21. *his Sabin, or Tiburtin Mannor*. The former was a farm near Ustica in the Sabine country, given by Maecenas; the latter a cottage acquired by Horace at Tibur, the modern Tivoli.

29. *Letters*. Suetonius, *Vita Horati*.

PAGE 153. 6. *Qui quid sit pulchrum . . .* 'Who tells what is fair, what foul, what useful, what not, more fully and better than Chrysippus and Crantor.' Horace, *Epistles*, I. ii. 3. Homer, he says, was a better teacher of ethics than the moral philosophers themselves. Chrysippus of Soli in Cilicia, who was born 280 B.C., was a Stoic; Crantor, also of Soli, flourished c. 300 B.C. and belonged to the older Academy.

13. *Martials*: e.g. I. 1; III. lviii; IV. xc; X. xxxvii.

PAGE 154. 1. *Virg. Georg.*, ii. 458 ff. Like most of Cowley's translations, this is a free paraphrase, and misses much of the beauty of the original.

8. *Tide of Clients*. See p. 125, l. 22.

11. *Tap'stry*. This detail is more characteristic of Cowley's day than Vergil's. The original has 'illusas auro vestes'.

13. *Poyson of Assyrian pride*. Tyrian purple. 'Assyrian', as often, stands for 'Syrian'.

19. Not in Vergil.

22. *the Birds salute him*. Not in Vergil.

28-9. 'Sacra deum, sanctique patres.'

PAGE 155. 1. *Astraea*. The personification of Justice, a daughter of Jupiter. She was driven from earth when the Golden Age ceased. Vergil has 'Iustitia'.

4. *the inferiour wheels*. This awkward figure is not in Vergil.

5. *the Muse*. All forms of poetry were inspired by the Muses. The earlier philosophical and scientific treatises were generally in verse, and consequently one of the Muses, Urania, was regarded as the inspirer of astronomy. In this passage and in that beginning 'Felix, qui potuit' (490 ff., below, l. 23) Vergil has in mind his great master Lucretius, the author of the philosophical and scientific poem, *De Rerum Natura*.

10. *The Moon, the changing Worlds eternal bound*. There is nothing in the original corresponding with this obscure phrase. Cowley probably means that the moon is appointed for times and seasons.

14. *Varieties too regular for chance*. I do not know whether this is a quotation.

16. *stops the lazy Waggon of the night*. 'Quae tardis mora noctibus obstet', i.e. what causes the coming of night to be so delayed (in summer).

18. *Spirits*. According to the old physiology, the 'spirits' or vital energies were produced by the blood.

22. *Tempe*. The wooded valley of the Peneus in Thessaly.

30. *Whose humble Life lies not in fortunes way*. A poor rendering of 'deos qui novit agrestes', &c.

32. *the Rods and Scepters of the great*. 'Populi fasces . . . purpura regum', i.e. the symbols of republican and monarchical authority.

PAGE 156. 6. *markets of the Law*. The Latin *forum* means both a market-place and a court of law.

7. *The Camps of Gowned War*. 'Scenes of litigation', the *toga* or gown being worn by pleaders.

nor do they live . . . obey. An addition of Cowley's.

13. *popular*. The apostrophe is used in the 1668 edition, not only to indicate the omission of a letter or letters, as in modern spelling, but also, without actual omission of letters, to mark the silence or slurring over of—(1) the following

sound, as here, or as in *lux'ury* (p. 161, l. 19), *to'wards* (p. 184, l. 6), *you 'have* (p. 189, l. 19), perhaps *He'ven* (a monosyllable, p. 184, l. 6); (2) the preceding sound, as in *honie'd* (p. 163, l. 27), *gentl'er* (*l* not syllabic, p. 164, l. 5), *justly 'a* (p. 193, l. 17), *thou' extendst* (p. 209, l. 17).

13-14. Another addition. *the foolish whistlings of a Name*. The mere empty sound of a title. Imitated by Pope, *Essay on Man*, iv. 282: 'Or, ravish'd with the whistling of a name.'

18. *Tyrian Beds*. Beds adorned with the costly Tyrian purple, or *murex*.

22. *their Antipodes*. Vergil has only 'alio patriam sub sole iacentem', but the notion is not altogether an anachronism. The ancients were familiar with the true theory of the earth's form, and the word *ἀντιποδες* (literally 'those whose feet are opposed') occurs in Plato, Plutarch, and Cicero, in the senses both of persons and places on the opposite side of the globe.

27. *moneth*. See note to p. 35, l. 8.

PAGE 157. 1. *powerful Princely Purple*. Vergil has simply 'vindemia', the vintage.

2. *Twice dy'd with the redoubled Sun*. The meaning of the phrase, which is not in Vergil, is obscure. Perhaps it means 'Dyed to a deeper purple than usual by the extraordinary heat of the sun'.

8. *wish't for home*: i.e. 'wished for at home'. *Home* has, however, never been used adverbially with verbs of motion, except when it means 'arrived at home'. If the text is sound, this seems to be a poetic licence.

10. *Wives*: i.e. 'wife's'. This form is due to the fact that in Old Engl. *f* between two vowels, as in *wifes*, possessive singular of *wif*, is voiced, i.e. has the sound of *v*. Cf. the note to *wolves*, p. 97, l. 31.

12. *His Genius*. See note to p. 119, l. 15.

13. *sacred shade*. The shade of a tree dedicated to some rural divinity.

21. *Sabins*. The Sabine people, which inhabited the Apennines east of Rome, was renowned for its hardihood.

22. *Hetrurian*. 'Etruscan'.

23. *Remus and the God his Brother*. Romulus and Remus, the twin sons of Rhea Silvia by the god Mars, were the legendary founders of Rome. Remus was slain by his brother, who was caught up to heaven in a storm, and worshipped as the god Quirinus.

26. *poor Saturns golden dayes*. Poor, because money was unknown in the Golden Age. Cf. note to p. 203, l. 12.

27. *Before Men born of Earth and buried there,
Let in the Sea their mortal fate to share*.

Apparently this means, 'Before men, whose natural destiny is to live and die on land, incurred the fate of death by shipwreck.' *Share* will then mean 'share with earth the function of bringing about (their death)'. The original is quite different: 'necdum etiam audierant inflari classica', 'nor yet had they heard war-trumpets blown.' *Classica*, properly war-signals on the trumpet, is put by metonymy for trumpets. *Classica* has also the meaning 'things belonging to a fleet', 'naval matters'. Can Cowley have been guilty of so absurd a mistranslation as 'nor yet had they heard of fleets being blown upon (by storms)'?

30. *unskilful Death*. Men killed each other clumsily until they invented swords.

PAGE 158. 1. *Horat? Epodon*. *Epode* ii. Cowley keeps more closely to his original than usual, but omits the last ten lines of this ode.

5. *the first golden Mortals*. Those who lived in the mythical Golden Age.

7. *humane storms*. 'Disturbances caused by men'.

21. *Use*. 'Profit', return for one's labours.

PAGE 159. 3. *Orgies*. 'Revels'. The word originally meant enthusiastic religious rites.

4. *Like Dreams* . . . An imaginative addition of Cowley's.

8. *sullen Jove*. 'Inclement weather', Jupiter being the god of the sky.

14. *the travailing foul*. For *travailing* = 'migrant', see note to p. 81, l. 17. Horace has 'advenam gruem', the crane that comes from abroad.

18. *Tyrant Love*. Horace only says, 'who amid these scenes does not forget the troubles that arise from love?'

21. *Sabins*. See note to p. 157, l. 21.

22. *Apulia*. A district in the south-east of Italy, on the borders of which Horace was born.

26. *To pin*. 'To make fast', 'to close'. Middle Engl. *pynnen*, from *pynne*, a peg, bolt, pin, Old Engl. *pinn*.

milch. This verb does not represent any Old English form, but appears to be formed from the adj. *milch*.

27. *against her Husband come*. The preposition *against* was occasionally, as here, used as a conjunction, on the analogy of *until*.

PAGE 160. 1. *lustful shel-fish*. *Lustful* here means 'provocative of lust'. Horace has '*Lucrina conchyliis*', oysters from the Lucrine lake.

3. *Ortolans*. The ortolan (Italian *ortolano*, properly a gardener), or garden bunting, is a small bird esteemed as a delicacy.

Godwits. The godwit is a marsh bird, resembling a curlew, formerly fattened for the table.

7. *The Country Mouse*. Horace, *Satires*, II. vi. 79. Cowley has expanded Horace's thirty-eight hexameters to ninety-five lines.

13. *careful of the main*. 'With an eye to the main chance', 'careful of his own interests;' in Hor. '*attentus quaesitis*'.

18. *belighted*. 'A humourously formed word, in allusion to *benighted*; to be overtaken by light, being to a mouse . . . what the being overtaken by *night* is to a man . . .', Hurd. *Arriv'd* and *belighted* are past participles.

23. *Fitches*. A Northern form of *vetches*.

Peason. A form of the old plural *pesen*. The modern sing. *pea* is due to the mistake of regarding *pease* as a plural.

26. *Haut goust*. See note to p. 91, l. 30.

27. *sward of Bacon*. The rind or skin, the same word as *sward*, the grassy covering of the earth, Old Eng. *sweard*, skin. The sense in the text is obsolete, except in the provincial *sward-pork*, 'bacon cured in large flitches'.

PAGE 161. 3. *fall on*. In modern English, 'fall to'.

6. *Genius*. See note to p. 119, l. 15.

PAGE 162. 1. *It was the time* . . . As Hurd suggests, this passage and that below, ll. 17, 18, probably burlesque the pompous style of contemporary poets.

2. *Phœbus* is here the sun-god, *Thetis* a nymph personifying the sea.

3. *She blusht*. Reddened by the setting sun.

5. *troth*. A mere variant of *truth*, now confined to one or two phrases, as 'to plight one's troth', 'in troth'.

14. *Mortclakes noble Loom*. There was a famous tapestry factory at the village of Mortlake, near Richmond, Surrey. The name is spelt *Morclake* in the 1663 volume of verses. I find in the seventeenth century the forms Moreclack, Morclack, Moreclak, on church plate, &c.

17. *About the hour* . . . *Cynthia* is the moon, properly

the goddess Diana, so named from Mount Cynthus in Delos. Cf. Cowley's Pindaric ode, *The Plagues of Egypt*, 14:

It was the time when the still Moon
Was mounted softly to her Noon,

and his own note on that passage, 'Midnight, called also by the Latines *Meridies Noctis*.' Varro, quoted by Nonius, 6. 16, has:

Repente noctis circiter meridiem.

Milton, in *Il Penseroso*, 67 f., speaks of the 'moon Riding near her highest noon'. *Meridies* is properly midday, when the sun reaches its highest altitude and crosses the meridian. The moon only does this at midnight when it is full.

31. *fraited*. 'Freighted', 'loaded'.

PAGE 163. 27. *honie'd Cakes*. Pancakes spread with honey, called 'liba' and 'mellitae placentae', were offered to the gods, and became the food of the priests and their servants.

28. *Would I a house . . .* Cf. Cowley's poem appended to the essay, 'Of Solitude', p. 134, l. 11 f.:

Here Nature does a House for me erect,
Nature, the wisest Architect.

He means in both passages that he prefers the shade of trees to a house. Horace merely says that if we are to live in accordance with nature we should build our houses in the country.

PAGE 164. 6. *The mad Celestial Dogs, or Lyons rage*. *Dogs* and *Lyons* are gen. sing. depending on *rage*. The 'celestial Dog' is Sirius, the chief star in the constellation of Canis or the Great Dog. Homer and Hesiod both associate the rising of the Dog-star with the hottest days in the year, hence called the dog-days. In their time Sirius rose heliacally in Greece about the middle of July, a date which was traditionally retained, although the actual heliacal rising at Rome in Horace's day was as late as the beginning of August.

The 'lyon' is the sign of Leo, which the sun entered, according to the Julian calendar, on July 24.

22. *right Gems*. 'Genuine gems'.

PAGE 165. 2. *To Kings, or to the favorites of Kings*. Imitated by Pope, *Essay on Man*, iv. 205.

5. *wan*. An obsolete form of the past tense of *win*: Old Eng. *wann*.

9. *the Rider*. Object.

21. *Estate*. 'Condition', 'fortune'.

22. *sits close, but not too strait*. 'Is exactly adapted to his needs, without involving privations'.

23. *it burns*. 'Causes inflammation', 'irritates'. Lat. 'urit'.

31. *we' our*. For this use of the apostrophe, see note to p. 156, l. 13.

PAGE 166. 1. *The Country life*. Cowley has here translated a passage from his Latin poem on Plants in six books, viz. iv. 1 ff. The original is quoted in full in Lumby's edition, p. 230.

3. *whom'ere*. The apostrophe indicates the omission of *ev-*, the final *e* being added to mark the lengthening of the vowel, as in *Ple* (p. 128, l. 16, &c.), *o're* (p. 217, l. 18). The spelling *e're* (p. 192, l. 17) and the modern *e'er* are more correct than *'ere*, as it is a case of contraction, and not of the loss of the first syllable.

14. *The old Corycian Yeoman*. A peasant of Tarentum, of whom Vergil gives an account, *Georgics*, iv. 127-46. He supplied his needs by keeping bees, and growing fruits and flowers in abundance on a patch of poor land. He is called 'Corycius', which may be his name, or may mean that he came from Corycus in Cilicia.

15. *Abdolonymus*. A gardener of royal descent, whom Alexander 'the great Emperour' made king of Sidon (Q. Curtius, *Alexander*, iv. 1).

18. *howing of his Ground*. This redundant use of the preposition *of*, now regarded as a vulgarism, is due to the loss of the preposition *on* or *in* (later *a-*) before the verbal noun, which thus became confused with the present participle.

25. *Aglaius*. A poor peasant who lived in Arcadia, near Psophis (Sopho's town, p. 167, l. 18). Gyges is the famous king of Lydia, c. 670 B. C. The story is told by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vii. § 151, and by Valerius Maximus.

PAGE 167. 1. *the whole Worlds Eye*. Through the Delphic oracle Apollo showed his knowledge of all human affairs.

17. *The Arcadian life has always shady been*. The original has 'Arcadas alta quies umbraque densa tegit'. The inland plateau of Arcadia, a land of secluded valleys and forests, was one of the most backward parts of Greece, and became proverbial among the Roman poets for rustic simplicity and obscurity.

29. *Earnest*. A pledge, properly money given in token of future payment. The word, which is quite distinct from the adj. *earnest*, is probably derived from Lat. *arrha*, a word of Semitic origin.

5. THE GARDEN

PAGE 168. 2. *J. Evelyn Esquire*. John Evelyn (1620–1706), the famous dilettante and diarist, was a friend of Cowley's, who for a short time, after the Restoration, was a near neighbour of his at Deptford. Cowley shared Evelyn's taste for horticulture, and a letter of his is extant, thanking Evelyn for a gift of plants and seeds. In 1664 Evelyn published *Kalendarium Hortense, or The Gardener's Almanac*. Cowley having copied out the work, Evelyn in 1666 dedicated the second edition to him in the following words :

SIR,

This *Second Edition* of my *Hortulan Kalendar* is due to you, mindful of the honour you once conferr'd on it, when you were pleas'd to suspend your nobler *Raptures*, and think it worthy your *transcribing*. It appears now with some *advantages* which it then wanted ; because it had not *that* of publishing to the *World*, how infinitely I magnifie your *contempt* of (not to say) *revenge* upon it ; whilst you still continue in the *possession* of your *Self*, and of that *repose* which few men understand, in exchange for those *pretty miseries* you have essay'd : O the sweet *Evenings* and *Mornings*, and all the *Day* besides which are yours,

. . . while Cowley's made
The happy Tennant of the Shade !

And the *Sun* in his *Garden*, gives him all he desires, and all that he would enjoy : the purity of visible Objects, and of true *Nature* before she was vitiated by Imposture or Luxury ! You gather the first *Roses* of the *Spring*, and *Apples* of *Autumn* : And as the *Philosopher* in *Seneca* desir'd only *Bread* and *Herbs* to dispute felicity with *Jupiter* ; You vie happiness in a *thousand* easie, and sweet *Diversions* ; not forgetting the innocent *Toils* which You cultivate ; the *Leisure* and the *Liberty*, the *Books*, the *Meditations*, and above all, the learned and choice *Friendships* that you enjoy : Who would not, like *You*, *Cacher sa Vie* ? 'Twas the wise *Impress* of a *Balzac*, You give it *lustre* and *interpretation* :

I swear to You, Sir, it is what in the World I most inwardly breath after, and pursue, not to say that I envy Your *felicity*, deliver'd from the guil'ded *impertinences* of life, to enjoy the moments of a solid and pure Contentment; since those who know how *usefully* You employ this glorious *Recess*, must needs be forc'd either to *imitate*, or as I do, to *celebrate* Your *Example*.

J. EVELYN.

This essay is an acknowledgement of the compliment. Evelyn did much to encourage gardening and planting by his writings on these subjects, of which *Sylva*, also published in 1664, is the best known, and by laying out his estates at Sayes Court, Deptford, and at Wotton, near Dorking.

10. *And there (with no design . . .)*. These lines seem to be original.

13. *Better for me*. 'More appropriately'.

14. *Studiis florere . . .* 'To prosper in the pursuits of unrenowned leisure'. Vergil, *Georgics*, iv. 564: '*studiis florentem ignobilis oti*'. Vergil closes the *Georgics* with a contrast between the victorious public career of Augustus and his own unambitious leisured literary pursuits.

16. *several accidents of my ill fortune*. Some account of Cowley's disappointments after his return to England at the Restoration will be found in the Introduction, p. xx. As this essay must have been written after the second edition of Evelyn's *Kalendarium*, which was published, with the epistle to Cowley, in 1666, the hired house can only be the Porch House at Chertsey, to which he had removed in the spring of 1665. His dissatisfaction with Chertsey is expressed in a letter to Sprat, dated May 21, 1665, and printed in Johnson's *Life of Cowley*, in which after complaining of illness, he writes, 'And, besides, I can get no money from my tenants, and have my meadows eaten up every night by cattle put in by my neighbours.'

26. *Sodom*. He means the corrupt society of London, on which he had turned his back.

27. *O let me escape . . .* Lot's prayer on his flight from Sodom; Gen. xix. 20. Zoar was the little town to which he escaped.

PAGE 169. 1. *I do not look back yet*. As Lot's wife did, during the flight; Gen. xix. 26.

3. *Pindarical*. 'High-flown'; see notes to pp. 18, 128.

5. *I have mist, like a Chymist, my great End.* Cf. 'Maidenhead' in Cowley's *Mistress*:

The search it self rewards the pains.
So, though the Chymick his great secret miss,
(For neither it in Art nor Nature is)
Yet things well worth his toyle he gains:
And does his Charge and Labour pay
With good unsought exper'iments by the way.

The aim of the alchemists was the discovery of the philosopher's stone, which was to transmute the baser metals into gold. Although this was a delusion, their experiments led incidentally to many useful discoveries. When Cowley wrote scientific chemistry was beginning to emerge from alchemy. The word *chemist* or *chymist* is merely a shortened form of *alchemist* or *alchymist*. *Alchemy* is derived through the Arabic *al-kimia* (*al* being the definite article) from the Greek *χημεία*, properly 'the art of Egypt' or Khemmi, the Ham of the Old Testament. The forms with *y* follow the Greek variant form *χυμεία*, lit. 'a pouring', probably due to false etymology.

6. *affections*. 'Inclinations', 'favourite pursuits'.

12. *Epistle*. See note to p. 168, l. 2.

18. *you have hundreds of other Arts* . . . Evelyn's interests embraced most of the arts and sciences; he wrote on engraving, architecture and numismatics, and contributed numerous scientific papers to the *Transactions* of the Royal Society, of which he was one of the first members. He also eagerly collected information regarding trades and manufactures. Although, as Cowley says, his mind was 'rich enough to allow great legacies' to these branches of knowledge, horticulture and planting were the arts to which his contributions were most important.

25. *that Book*. Evelyn's *Compleat Gardener*, which he did not publish till 1693.

28. *Wit*. 'Intellect'.

29. *Expences*. Expenditure of time and trouble, as well as of money.

PAGE 170. 13. *thy virtuous Wife*. Evelyn had married in 1647 Mary, daughter of Sir Richard Browne, Charles I's resident at the court of France. A character of her, by Dr. Bohun, is appended to Bray's edition of Evelyn's *Diary*.

PAGE 171. 9. *A Louvre or Escorial*. Probably in Cowley's day the two largest and most magnificent palaces of Europe.

The Louvre was built by Francis I and his successors. The Escorial or Escorial, which covers nine acres, and consists of a palace, convent, and church, was built by Philip II of Spain in the years 1563-93. It stands about thirty miles north-west of Madrid.

11. *Babel*. Gen. xi. 4, 9.

21. *God the first Garden made, and the first City, Cain*. See Gen. iv. 17, also *Vision concerning Cromwell*, p. 94, l. 26. Compare Cowper's famous line 'God made the country, and man made the town' (*Task*, i. 749).

25-6. *the Lion-Star . . . the Dogstar*. Cf. note to p. 164, l. 6. In the beast-fables the lion is the type of magnanimity and ambition, the dog of greed.

PAGE 172. 1. *They neither Set, nor Disappear*: i. e. ambition and avarice, though not the stars with which they are compared.

3. *Influence*. Literally 'a flowing in', an astrological term for the radiation of an ethereal fluid from the stars, supposed to affect human character and destiny.

12. *They like all other Poets . . .* Cowley is thinking of his own disappointments.

16. *Basc*. Now spelt *bass*, from the French *basse*, fem. of *bas*, low (cf. Ital. *basso*). The Engl. adj. *base* is an earlier borrowing of the same word.

18. *Arts Musick*: i. e. musical instruments.

19. *Theorbo*. A large bass lute with two necks, much used in the orchestra in the seventeenth century. French *t(h)éorbe*, Ital. *tiorba*, also *theorba*. The ultimate origin of the word is unknown.

21. *Orpheus strook th' inspired Lute*. According to the ancient form of the story, it was by the playing of his lyre, not his lute, that Orpheus charmed the trees, and made them follow him. Shakespeare, however, has 'Orpheus with his lute made trees . . . Bow themselves when he did sing'; *Henry VIII*, III. i.

PAGE 173. 1. *When Venus would her dear Ascanius keep . . . Aeneid*, i. 691 ff. When Venus sent Cupid in the guise of the child Ascanius, son of Aeneas, and her own grandson, to inspire Dido with love for Aeneas, she put Ascanius to sleep, and wafted him away to a grove in Cyprus.

8. *all his Spirits*. See note to p. 155, l. 18.

9. *Exhalations*. Five syllables.

13. *Femal Men*. 'Effeminate dandies.'

15. *Epicurus*. See notes to p. 120, l. 11; p. 138, l. 17.

23. *Vitellius his Table*. Vitellius, who succeeded Otho for a few months as Roman emperor in A.D. 69, was notorious for his monstrous gluttony. For this use of *his* see note to p. 120, l. 11.

25. *That Fiscal Table*. A dining-table to supply which the empire was taxed in money and delicacies of all kinds.

PAGE 174. 6. *the Third Story high*. Dessert formed the third course in a dinner.

7. *with no Sence . . . comply*. 'Gratify no sense' (so much as that of sight).

9. *the great Hebrew King*. Solomon, who not only showed all his treasures to the Queen of Sheba, but displayed his wisdom to her. 1 Kings x.

11. *Southern Guest*. Sheba is believed to have been in South Arabia.

19. *wealthy Hiram's Princely Dy*. The royal purple of Tyre, of which city Hiram was king.

20. *Ophir's Starry Stones*. Ophir is the unknown place, perhaps in Arabia, from which Hiram's ships brought precious stones. 1 Kings x. 11.

28. *The case thus judg'd . . .* Matt. vi. 28 f.: 'Consider the lilies of the field . . . even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.'

PAGE 175. 9. *The Tree of Life . . .* The tree of life grew in the midst of the garden of Eden (Gen. ii. 9). To have eaten of it would have ensured immortality (Gen. iii. 22). The name *arbor vitæ*, or tree of life, was given, for what reason is not clear, by the botanist Clusius or Lécluse (d. 1609) to incense-bearing trees of the genus *Thuja*, of which *T. occidentalis* is found in North America, and *T. orientalis* in China. The former, which in its native land is a tall tree, resembling a cypress rather than a cedar, was introduced into English gardens before 1597, when Gerard mentions it in his *Herball*. In this country it is scarcely more than a shrub, evergreen, but not, as Cowley says, thorny. The secondary meaning of this passage is that human life, which at first in the garden of Eden was not liable to death, began after the Deluge to be greatly shortened, and now, although a relatively puny thing, beset with pain, is at its healthiest and best when lived among gardens.

14, 15. *here*. In gardens.

30. *furnish it with Staffe and Shield*. In a figurative as well as the literal sense.

PAGE 176. 4. *Real Poetry*. Poetry expressed in acts and

material objects. The Greek word *ποίησις* (whence 'poesy') means literally 'a making'.

6. *the Third Dayes Volume*. Vegetation was created on the third day. Gen. i. 11-13.

7. *intend our Eye*. 'Strain our eye', 'gaze intently', like Lat. 'oculum intendere'.

8. *like Moses*. Exod. iii. 1-6.

14-15. *Though these perhaps . . .* While astrology was falling into disrepute, pharmacology, especially the use of vegetable drugs, was in Cowley's day the subject of increasing study. He himself in his Latin poem on Plants had devoted much attention to it.

22. *Grafts*. *Graft* is the obsolete, but correct, form of the vb. and sb. 'graft'. It is derived from Lat. *graphium*, a stylus for writing, which resembles a shoot or scion. The *-t* is perhaps due to confusion with the past participle.

PAGE 177. 10. *Galatea's purple kiss*. In Vergil, *Eclogues*, iii. 64, the shepherd Damoetas says:

Malo me Galatea petit, lasciva puella,

'Galatea pelts me with an apple, wanton girl.' The apple was sacred to Venus, and to throw one at a person was a token of love. Vergil imitates Theocritus, vi. 6 ff.

11. *the savage Hawthorn*. Savage = 'wild', 'uncultivated', through French *sauvage* from Lat. *silvaticus*, 'of the woods'. The hawthorn is still used as a stock for grafting various fruits, and peaches are often grafted on wild-plum stocks.

15. *Daphnes coyness*. According to Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 452, the nymph Daphne, when pursued by Apollo, was metamorphosed into a laurel, in Greek δάφνη. The laurel of the ancients was probably the bay tree, *Laurus nobilis*, on which cherries could not possibly be grafted. Cowley refers, however, to the common or cherry laurel, *Prunus* (*Cerasus*) *Lauro-cerasus*, a shrub very closely related to the cherry.

21. *Dioclesian*. The Roman emperor Diocletian, after a successful reign of twenty-one years, in the course of which he had been victorious over many enemies, abdicated in A.D. 305, at the age of fifty-nine, and lived for the remaining eight years of his life in retirement at Salona, the modern Spalato, in Dalmatia, near which he had been born. Aurelius Victor relates (*De Caes.* 39, *Epit.* 39) that when Maximian afterwards begged him to resume the imperial authority, he replied, 'If you could see the vegetables planted by my hands at Salona, you would never think of urging such an attempt.'

PAGE 178. 6. *rod*. An obsolete form of *rode*. A Roman general or emperor celebrated a triumph by driving a chariot in state to the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol of Rome.

6. OF GREATNESS

10. *Since we cannot attain*. Montaigne, *Essais*, III. vii: 'De l'incommodité de la grandeur', opens with the words, 'Puisque nous ne la pouvons aveindre [*v. l. atteindre*], vengeons nous à en mesdire.' Michel Eyquem, Sieur de Montaigne (1533-92), the great French moralist and inventor of the essay, resigned a magistracy in 1570 for a life of retirement and study. Although he afterwards became a gentleman in ordinary to Henry III, as well as to his rival and successor Henry of Navarre, and was twice elected to the important office of Mayor of Bordeaux (1581-5), he was too much disgusted with the factious and fanatical spirit which divided France to pursue a public career with any zeal. The ironical humour of the saying here quoted is characteristic of the author.

18. *convicted*. 'Convicted'. Montaigne was forced by a peremptory royal order to return from the Baths of Lucca, where he had established himself for his health's sake, and undertake the distasteful duties of the mayoralty of Bordeaux.

23. *my Protestation*. Cowley, who had displayed chagrin at his failure to obtain an office under the Crown, now affects the temper of the fox who found the grapes out of his reach.

PAGE 179. 3. *Horace*. 'The gods have done well in making me of a poor and humble spirit', *Satires*, I. iv. 17. What Horace refers to is the restraint and moderation of his satire.

8. *to fall in love*. In 'The Chronicle', Cowley humorously enumerates a long series of love affairs, probably fictitious, and certainly not serious. The last lady on the list, Heleenora, is said to have been the only woman he ever loved, and even to her he never ventured to declare his passion. See Introduction, p. xvi.

12. *Bona Roba*. Formerly a cant term for a robust, well-grown woman, usually, though not here, a courtesan. Cf. Florio, *Italian and English Dictionary*, '*Buonarobba*, as we say good stuffe, that is, a good wholesome plum-cheeked wench.'

13. *as Homer uses.* In *Odyssey*, vi. 16, Nausicaa is called ἀθανάτησι φύην καὶ εἶδος ὁμοίη, 'like the immortals in stature and in beauty'.

16. *Parvula* . . . Lucretius, iv. 1162: 'A tiny, dwarfish woman (is) one of the Graces, all pure soul.'

19. *Seneca the Elder.* M. Annaeus Seneca, the rhetorician, father of the famous philosopher and dramatist. The character of Senecio is described in his *Suasoriae*, ii. 17. The disease, as Cowley calls it, is now well known as the form of insanity called megalomania.

PAGE 180. 1. *Horse-plums.* 'Large, coarse plums'. The prefix has probably the same significance in *horse-radish*, *horse-chestnut*. The *N.E.D.* defines horse-plum as 'a small red variety of plum', which is obviously not the sense here, unless, which may well be, this variety was relatively larger in Cowley's day.

3. *Chiopins.* *Chiopin*, also spelt *chopine*, *chopin*, *chippine*, an obsolete name for a high-heeled clog or shoe worn by women, of Spanish origin, but best known from its use at Venice about 1600, where, according to Coryat's *Crudities*, it even reached the height of half a yard. The English word follows the alleged Italian form *cioppino*.

4. *Grandio.* A cognomen formed in the usual manner from *grandis*, large.

Messala. M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (64 B.C.—A.D. 8), a prominent author and patron of literature in the Augustan age, was famous for his witty sayings.

5. *Cognomentum.* Appropriately used in reference to Senecio, as a longer word than its synonym *cognomen*.

he declaimed for the three hundred Lacedaemonians. Rhetoricians were accustomed to choose famous historical incidents as subjects for declamatory exercises. The 300 Lacedaemonians, under their king Leonidas, occupied the pass of Thermopylae to oppose the invasion of Xerxes in 480 B.C., but the position was turned, and though they might have escaped, they chose to stand their ground, and were annihilated. With them perished 700 Thespians, and probably a number of Helots and other Lacedaemonian troops. The 300 were all Spartiates, i.e. full citizens. Their 400 Theban allies deserted to the Persians.

15. *I know not what to make of the rest.* He continues, 'who contracted the lands and enlarged the deep, and commanded nature to change her aspect, let him pitch his camp against heaven if he will; I shall have the gods for comrades.'

He refers to the canal made by Xerxes across the peninsula of Athos.

17. *burly*. 'Blustering', 'domineering'; a nearly obsolete use of the word.

19. *Hyperbolic Fop*. 'Fool prone to exaggeration'. For *fop*, see note to p. 131, l. 21.

22. *our Ladies of quality* . . . Cf. Coryat, *Crudities* (reprint of edition of 1611, ii. 37), of the Venetian ladies: 'By how much the nobler a woman is, by so much the higher are her Chapineys. All their gentlewomen, and most of their wiues and widowes that are of any wealth, are assisted and supported eyther by men or women when they walke abroad, to the end they may not fall.'

27. *Grandeets*. Properly, Spanish or Portuguese noblemen of the highest rank, hence 'magnificent persons of high station'.

PAGE 181. 6. *One of the most powerful and fortunate Princes*. Louis XIII of France, who reigned 1610-43. The Duc de Luynes, Constable of France, is said to have gained his favour by training singing-birds for him.

11. *the Emperours of the whole world*. The Roman emperors.

13. *they would be gods*. Divine honours were officially paid to the Roman emperors after their death (*apotheosis*), and during their lifetime to their *genii*. In some of the provinces, especially in the East, where the practice originated, the living emperors were worshipped as gods, but Caligula and Domitian were the only emperors who demanded adoration at Rome.

14. *one of them who stiled himself* . . . Domitian (A.D. 88-96), who permitted the procurators to call him 'dominus ac deus', although this never became an official title.

17. *constant two or three hours*: i.e. without intermission. Suetonius, *Domitian*, 3.

18. *bodkin*. Lat. *stilus*, a pointed iron instrument used for writing on waxed tablets.

19. *Beelzebub*. In 2 Kings i. 2, Baal-zebub is the god of the Philistine city of Ekron. The name appears to mean 'lord, or Baal, of flies', perhaps the averter of insects, like Zeus and Heracles' Ἀρόμνιος. In the N. T. (e.g. Mark iii. 22) Beelzebub is Satan, the prince of demons.

20. *Nero*. See the anecdotes in Suetonius, *Nero*, 26, &c.

30. *Divine voice*. Nero's flatterers spoke of his 'vox caelestis' (Suetonius, *Nero*, 21, &c.).

PAGE 182. 2. *his death*. Threatened by the rebellion of

Galba, deserted by his guards and courtiers, and condemned to death by the Senate, Nero lay in hiding at a villa outside Rome. Hearing the tramp of horsemen who were approaching to arrest him, he stabbed himself in the throat, and was dispatched by a faithful attendant.

3. *the Cæsarian race.* Nero, who died in A.D. 68 without an heir, was the adopted son of the Emperor Claudius. His mother Agrippina was the great-granddaughter of Augustus, and the line of Julius Caesar came to an end with him.

5. *Alas, what pity 'tis . . .* He exclaimed, shortly before his death, 'Qualis artifex pereo!' Suetonius, *Nero*, 49.

6. *His Uncle Claudius.* The Emperor Claudius (A.D. 41-54) was the brother of Germanicus, and thus the great-uncle of Nero.

9. *Caligula's delights.* The Emperor Gaius or Caligula (A.D. 37-41) was undoubtedly insane. It is related that he amused himself by rolling in heaps of gold, by masquerading publicly in the guise of various gods and goddesses, by building a temple to himself, by making his horse consul, by causing many persons to be wantonly tortured and killed in his presence, and by many other mad acts.

10. *Tiberius.* This Emperor, who reigned A.D. 14-37, spent the last eleven years of his life in strict seclusion in the island of Capri. Tacitus and Suetonius affirm that he abandoned himself to the vilest debauchery, but there is good reason for doubting the truth of these rumours.

11. *Augustus.* See Suetonius, *Augustus*, 83. The word *ocellata*, translated *bounding stones*, means small stones marked with spots or eyes, something like dice.

31. *Cates.* 'Choice viands', 'dainties'. The word, used by Chaucer in its full form *acate*, is derived from O.Fr. *acat*, mod.Fr. *achat*, a purchase. Bought victuals were commonly more delicate than those prepared at home.

PAGE 183. 8. *several.* 'Separate'.

10. *so frequent changes . . .* Awkwardly, but logically expressed. 'As frequent change of clothes as is equally good for their wearer.' He suffers no harm if he cannot afford to be always wearing new suits.

16. *Forest-work hangings.* Cf. p. 126, l. 15.

18. *in both conditions.* Both among the rich and poor.

PAGE 184. 4. *Sed quantum . . .* Quoted from Vergil's description of the winter oak, *Georgics*, ii. 291: 'Aesculus . . . quae, quantum vertice ad auras Aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit.'

13. *Cousinage*. 'Cheating', 'beguilement'; now spelt *cozenage*. The verb *cozen* is perhaps from the Fr. *cousiner*, to call cousin, to sponge upon.

14. *Mancipii locuples* . . . 'The king of the Cappadocians (Archelaus, the last king), rich in slaves, lacks coin'; Horace, *Epistles*, I. vi. 39.

PAGE 185. 3. as *Riches encreases* . . . Eccles. v. 11: 'When goods increase, they are increased that eat them'. *Riches* (Fr. *richesse*) was still treated as a singular noun.

6. *Ocnus*. A name for the type of an indolent, sluggish man who effects nothing, from Gk. *ὄκνος*, hesitation, backwardness. In a painting by Polygnotus, mentioned by Pausanias, x. 29. 2, he is represented twisting a rope of hay, which a she-ass is devouring. According to Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxv. 137, the painter was Nicophanes.

12. *it's*. This form began to replace *his* as the possessive of *it* towards the end of the sixteenth century.

14. *Pic of Tenariff*. Now called the Peak of Teneriffe, a high mountain in the Canary Islands. The word *peak*, originally the proper name of a mountainous district in Derbyshire, has replaced *pike*, still used in the Lake district for a pointed mountain, and in this instance the Fr. *pic*.

18. *the old Gyants*. According to the *Odyssey*, xi. 305 ff., it was the gigantic brothers Otus and Ephialtes, sons of Poseidon, who attempted to scale heaven in the manner described. The mountains Ossa, Olympus, and Pelion are in Thessaly. See p. 62, l. 5, and note.

19. *despight*. From O.Fr. *despit*. The spelling is on the analogy of native English words, as *light*, *night*, &c.

22. *the Thunder*. The thunderbolts wielded by Zeus.

27. *A famous person*. Oliver Cromwell, whom Cowley in his *Vision* compares with one of the giants who attempted to scale heaven. Cf. the lines 'Who of his Nation loves to be the first', &c., p. 62.

29. *Lieutenant General of an Army of little Titans*. Cromwell became lieutenant-general of the Eastern Association, and second in command under Manchester, on January 22, 1644.

30. *General*. He was appointed, by Parliament, general, i. e. commander-in-chief, of the Commonwealth, on June 26, 1650, on the occasion of the campaign against the Scottish Royalists.

PAGE 186. 1. *absolute Tyrant of three Kingdoms*. By his arbitrary dissolution of the Long Parliament in April, 1653,

Cromwell became the sole authority in the state, but he immediately summoned the so-called 'Little' or 'Barebones' Parliament, and after that brief and unfortunate experiment, a new constitution, the 'Instrument of Government', was framed, which limited his powers, not only by means of Parliament, but of the Council. Cromwell's position approached most nearly to a despotism when he governed the country without a Parliament by his Major-generals in 1655 and 1656, and again when he dissolved Parliament in February, 1658. Cf. note to p. 65, l. 22.

3. *is believed to have dyed with grief and discontent.* This opinion is hardly based on stronger evidence than Royalist gossip. Cromwell's death, which was caused by an intermittent fever, was, it is true, hastened by anxieties of government, and perhaps by doubts as to his own political actions; but it is clear that he set no store by the name of king, while he wielded full royal power. He would, however, probably have accepted the offer of the crown which was made to him in 1657, had it not been for the vehement opposition of the army. Among the strongest inducements to assume the crown was the fact that it would have safeguarded his adherents from the charge of high treason.

14. *It is indeed an Idol:* i.e. an object of baseless veneration. The Greek εἶδωλον properly means an image, generally an unsubstantial one, a phantom, a fancy. The quotation is from 1 Cor. viii. 4.

22. *I should be like Caesar.* The alleged saying of Julius Caesar here quoted is recorded by Plutarch, *Caesar*, xi.

25. *Great Britany.* Great Britain is so called to distinguish it from Little Britain or Brittany, which was settled in the fifth century by fugitives from Britain.

30. *this whole Globe of Earth . . .* This statement may be contrasted with the belated astronomy of Cowley's contemporary Milton.

PAGE 187. 6. *Ode of Horace.* As usual, Cowley has greatly expanded and altered this ode.

12-16. *which yet . . . so Foul.* Not in the original.

24-188. 7. *The humblest Bush . . . together stand.* Not in the original.

PAGE 188. 10. *Damocles.* A flatterer of Dionysius I, of Syracuse. Cicero (*Tuscul. Disp.*, v. xxi) relates the story that he was invited by the tyrant, whose happiness he had extolled, to a magnificent banquet, during which he found a sword suspended above his head by a single hair.

16. *over-noise*. This verb appears to have been invented by Cowley, with the meaning 'to surpass in noise', 'to drown the noise of'.

22. *His Poppey* . . . Sleep comes easily to the husband-man. The idea, but not the figure, is in Horace.

23. *The Halcyon sleep* . . . See the note to p. 6, l. 2. This passage to the end of the stanza is not in the original.

PAGE 189. 4. *The evil Aspects of the Year*. 'The times in the year when the planets are in unfavourable positions'. The word *aspect* is here used in its original astrological sense of the angular distance between two planets. This was one of the factors in a horoscope.

5. *two Comets*. Comets have generally been thought by the superstitious to portend calamity. Cowley perhaps alludes to the two comets of December, 1664, and April, 1665, which heralded the unfortunate Dutch war and the Great Plague.

8. *Let Mars and Saturn . . . conjoyn*. In the language of astrology two planets are said to be in conjunction when they are in the same degree of the zodiac. Mars, the planet of war and bloodshed, and Saturn, the planet of pestilence and other calamities, are in general maleficent, while Jupiter is in general beneficent. Persons born under this serene and kindly planet were called 'jovial'. Cowley means that he who is inwardly happy need not fear adverse planetary influences. Cf. 'Impossibilities' in Cowley's *Mistress*:

As stars (not powerful else) when they conjoin,
Change, as they please, the Worlds estate;
So thy Heart in Conjunction with mine,
Shall our own fortunes regulate;
And to our Stars themselves prescribe a Fate.

For the rime *conjoyn*: *design*, cf. note to p. 135, l. 7.

17. *fill up Seas*. In the passage here imitated, Horace refers to the custom which prevailed among the wealthy Romans of laying the foundations of their villas in the sea, as in the Bay of Baiae.

19. *you 'have*. This denotes the contraction now written 'you've'. Cf. note to p. 156, l. 13.

7. OF AVARICE

25. *refunding*. Literally 'pouring back', Lat. *refundere*.

PAGE 190. 5. *Ostrich*. This bird swallows hard substances to aid the process of digestion.

7. *excern.* 'Excrete', Lat. *excernere*, to sift.

8. *Chough.* The word *chough* (Middle Eng. *choȝe*), now restricted to the red-legged crow or Cornish chough, was in Cowley's time applied to any of the smaller chattering crows, especially the jackdaw. The whole family has the habit of picking up and hiding small glittering objects.

16. 1. See note to p. 130, l. 14.

24. *one Line of Ovids.* This sentence is wrongly attributed to Ovid, as Cowley might have known from the fact that it is in prose. It is from Seneca the Elder, *Controversiae*, vii. 3.

PAGE 191. 1. *Some body says.* Sir Henry Wotton, the diplomatist (1568–1639) closes his *Character of a Happy Life* with the words: 'Lord of himself, though not of lands; And having nothing, yet hath all.' St. Paul's words, referring to himself, are the source of the phrase, 2 Cor. vi. 10: 'As having nothing, and yet possessing all things.'

2. *Antipode.* This word, now almost confined to the plural, was formerly common in the singular, like the Fr. *antipode*. *Antipodes* are properly persons having the feet opposite to those of other persons, i. e. dwellers on the other side of the globe, hence persons with opposite characters. Cf. note to p. 156, l. 22.

4. *Audivi eos . . .* Terence, *Eunuchus*, iv. iii. 23 f.: 'At pol ego amatores eos mulierum esse audieram maximos, Sed nil potesse.' Translated in the following sentence.

7. *And, oh, What Mans . . .* These lines are almost certainly original.

11. *The Rich poor Man's Emphatically Poor.* The line recurs, with the first two adjectives transposed, p. 197, l. 6.

25. *in regard of their quality.* As wealthy persons.

29. *part of Horace's first Satyre.* *Sat.* i. i. 1–79.

PAGE 192. 16. *Orator Fabius.* Horace does not call him an orator, but only *loquacem*, talkative. Who he was is not known, but he may have been a knight of Narbonne, who is said to have defended the Stoic philosophy against Horace.

24. *The Devil a man.* This emphatic negative occurs as early as Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, II. iii. 159: 'The diu'll a Puritane that hee is.'

PAGE 193. 5. *Pismire.* An ant, so called from the peculiar smell of an ant-hill. The second element of the word is an old name for the ant; cf. Danish *myre*, Dutch *mier*, Greek *μύρμηξ*, &c., an ant.

6. *Mankind.* The original stress on the first element of the compound is here preserved.

8. *strait*. 'Immediately'.

10. *A stock for Winter*. Horace here describes the harvesting habits of certain ants, probably those of the Mediterranean genus *Aphaenogaster*, which accumulate vast stores of grass seeds in underground chambers. Cf. Prov. vi. 6-8.

PAGE 194. 5. *But pleasant 'tis . . .* An objection of the opponent.

6. *you'r*. The final *e* is dropped because *ou* sufficiently indicates the length. Cf. *they'r* on p. 194, l. 28.

13. *Nile*. The allusion to the Nile and crocodile is an addition of Cowley's.

16. *At unawares*. *Unawares* is an example of the old adverbial genitive. *At* is prefixed redundantly.

17. *Tantalus*. A mythical king, who was punished for revealing the counsels of Zeus, by being placed in a lake in the lower world, without being able to drink the water, or to reach the fruits which hung above his head.

29-30. *as if thou No other use . . .* 'As if thou wert merely a connoisseur of coins, a numismatist'.

PAGE 195. 3. *Oyl . . .* Cowley, thinking perhaps of the biblical 'corn, and wine, and oil' (e.g. Deut. xi. 14; Ps. civ. 15), has substituted oil for Horace's *holus*, vegetables.

11. *an Ode in Horace's third Book*. *Ode xvi*.

13. *A Tower of Brass*. Acrisius, a mythical king of Argos, hearing that an oracle had foretold that his daughter Danae would bear a son who would kill him, shut her up in a brazen tower. Zeus, however, visited her in the form of a shower of gold, and she became the mother of Perseus, who ultimately slew his grandfather.

PAGE 196. 1. *Elixar*. An obsolete form of *elixir*, from Arabic *al-iksîr*, used here in its proper sense of a preparation by which the alchemists sought to transmute metals into gold, not as the word is popularly and erroneously used, a drug to prolong life.

7. *as that works . . . upon the sword . . .* As lightning will melt a sword in its sheath. Cf. Shelley, *Adonais*, xx: 'a sword consumed before the sheath By sightless lightning.'

10. *The Prudent Macedonian King*. Philip II, the father of Alexander the Great. According to Cicero, he declared that no fortress was impregnable, up to the gates of which an ass laden with gold could be driven. Among the cities which he took were Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidaea, Methone, and Olynthus.

11. *To blow up Towns . . . with this Petar*. For this

anachronism Horace has 'diffidit urbium portas', 'cleft the gates of cities'. *Petar* is an obsolete form of *petard*, as in *Hamlet*, III. iv. 207.

16. *Let all the World . . .* There is very little in Horace's ode corresponding to this stanza.

21-2. *The Muses Laurel . . .* The ancients believed that the laurel was not struck by lightning. Suetonius records that the Emperor Tiberius used to wear a laurel wreath during a thunderstorm.

24. *Meteors*. The word is here used in the wider sense, now obsolete, of any atmospheric phenomenon, such as lightning.

28. *The vast Xerxean Army . . .* Xerxes I, King of Persia, invaded Greece in 480 B. C. with an enormous force, which is said to have numbered more than two million men. He was opposed at the Pass of Thermopylae by Leonidas and his little band of Spartans, 'the small Laconick forces.' See note to p. 180, l. 5. The Persians were renowned for their luxury and wealth, and the Spartans for their simplicity and poverty.

PAGE 197. 2. *straights*. Now more correctly spelt *straits*. *Strait*, narrow, as sb. a narrow passage, from O.Fr. *estreit* (mod. *étroit*), was often confused with *straight*, direct, ME. *streijt*, properly the past participle of *strecchen*, to stretch.

8. THE DANGERS OF AN HONEST MAN IN MUCH COMPANY

25. *If twenty thousand naked Americans . . .* This refers to such victories as Cortes gained over the Aztecs, and Pizarro over the Incas, but it is far more exaggerated than the accounts the Spaniards themselves gave of their successes. At Otumba in 1520, Cortes, with four or five hundred Spanish infantry, twenty horsemen, and perhaps 2,000 Indian allies, although his army had lost the whole of its artillery and muskets in the disastrous flight from Mexico, put to flight an immense native army, which the Spanish historians, doubtless with great exaggeration, estimate at 200,000 (Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, v. iv).

PAGE 198. 2. *Cap a pe*. Now spelt *cap-a-pie*, from O.Fr. *cap a pie*, 'head to foot.'

8. *Campagn*. Plain country, adapted for the fighting of pitched battles. The transition is easy to the current sense of *campaign*. From the Fr. *campagne*, which is borrowed from Ital. *campagna*, from Lat. *Campania*, a plain, usually

that near Naples. The native French form is *champagne*, whence *champaign*.

26. *Man is to man all kinde of Beasts*. Cf. Plautus, *Trinummus*, II. iv. 46: 'Lupus homo homini', 'man is a wolf to man'. The idiom *all kind of beasts* is now regarded as a vulgarism, though *all manner of* survives as an archaism. *Kind of, manner of*, are here quasi-adjectival. The Old Eng. idiom was *ealra cynna déor*, 'beasts of all kinds', which in Mid. Eng. became *alle kinne dere* (*bestes*), *kinne* (which came to be replaced by *kinde*) having acquired an adjectival force, and being no longer understood as a gen. plur. By analogy *alle manere bestes* could be said. Finally *of* was inserted through confusion with the more modern idiom, *all kinds of beasts*. Cf. Kellner, *Hist. Outlines of English Syntax*, §§ 167-72.

28. *a dissembling Crocodile*. In allusion to the old belief that this animal weeps hypocritically over its victim.

32. *Toupinambaltians*. A tribe of South American Indians, probably the Tupinambás, now inhabiting part of the province of Grão Pará, Brazil, between the rivers Xingu and Araguay. The custom prevailed among the tribes of the widespread Tupi people, to which the Tupinambás belong, to keep prisoners of war in comfort and even in luxury, until the day came when they were ceremonially killed and eaten in celebration of victory.

PAGE 199. 7. *I wish they could unravel*. In the following passage Cowley anticipates Rousseau's sentimental and entirely unhistorical theory of the state of Nature and the origin of society.

12. *cozen*. See note to p. 184, l. 13.

24. *from this Topick*. 'On the ground of this idea'. *Topic* is a commonplace, or general subject for argument, such as were collected by Aristotle in his work *Topica*.

25. *the tinkling . . . may unite a Swarm*. The establishment of law-courts, schools, places of worship, theatres, &c., promotes the habit of congregating in cities. The figure is taken from the custom of making a noise with metal vessels, with the result, as is supposed, of inducing bees to swarm.

32. *Go to, let us build us a City . . .* Spoken by the builders of the tower of Babel, Gen. xi. 4.

PAGE 200. 3. *the beginning of Rome*. Romulus, the legendary founder of Rome, is said to have increased the population by making it a sanctuary for fugitive slaves and homicides. Cf. p. 103, l. 2.

6. *the Augury of . . . twelve Vultures.* The brothers Romulus and Remus disagreed as to the position of the city they intended to found, and decided the question by augury. Romulus sat on the Palatine hill, in what was afterwards Rome, while Remus sat on the hill Remuria, a few miles away. Remus first saw six vultures, and Romulus afterwards saw twelve, the question being thus decided in his favour.

7. *the Founder cimented his walls . . .* While Romulus was building a wall round the Palatine, Remus in mockery leapt over it, and was struck dead by his brother.

9. *the first Town.* After Cain had become a fugitive on account of the murder of his brother Abel, he built the city of Enoch; Gen. iv. 17. Cf. p. 94, l. 26.

23. *at all pieces.* In modern English, 'at all points'.

PAGE 201. 6. *Quid Romae faciam? Mentiri nescio.* 'What am I to do at Rome? I know not how to tell lies'; Juvenal, iii. 41.

14. *advice which Martial gave.* Martial, *Epig.* iv. v. Nothing further is known of Fabian.

20. *Beldams.* *Beldam* or *beldame* meant originally a grandmother (cf. Fr. *belle-mère*, a stepmother, &c.); later, as here, it became a disrespectful term for an old woman.

PAGE 202. 3. *Lucretius.* An eminent Roman poet, c. 98–55 B.C. Cowley refers to the opening lines of the second book of his great philosophical poem, *De Rerum Natura*:

Suave mari magno, turbantibus aequora ventis,
E terra magnum alterius spectare laborem.

by his favour. 'If he will allow me to say so'.

6. *Democritus.* The Atomist, of Abdera, c. 460–360 B.C., one of the greatest of the earlier Greek philosophers. Cowley has totally misapprehended his character and principles. He placed the highest good of man in a joyous tranquillity of mind, which could only be gained by a disinterested pursuit of truth and a clear conscience. Hence he came to be known as 'the laughing philosopher', a title which late writers misinterpreted as if it implied that he held the world in derision. Cowley's statement that Democritus retired himself so much out of the world probably refers to a foolish anecdote that he blinded himself in order to concentrate his thoughts on philosophy. Democritus himself declared, according to Clement of Alexandria, that he had travelled more widely, and made the acquaintance of more learned men than any of his contemporaries.

10. *Bedlam*. Cf. p. 51, l. 14, and note.

30. *Vt nec facta* . . . 'That he may not even hear of the deeds of the sons of Pelops'. Cicero, *Ad Fam.*, VII. xxx. 1: 'Evolare . . . ubi nec Pelopidarum nomen nec facta audiam.' Cicero probably translates a line from some Greek poet. The house of Pelops was afflicted by an hereditary curse, which caused a succession of fearful crimes, such as the murder of Agamemnon.

PAGE 203. 3. *Qua terra patet* . . . 'Far as the land extends, the fierce Fury reigns. You would suppose they had sworn allegiance to crime.' Ovid, *Metamorph.*, i. 241 f.

7. *as the Scripture speaks*: e.g. 2 Kings xvii. 17, '(Israel and Judah) sold themselves to do evil in the sight of the Lord'.

12. *the old Poetical Golden Age*. Hesiod, in his *Works and Days*, and subsequent poets have described this, the first and best of the five ages of the world. It was the reign of Cronus or Saturn, when men lived like the gods. Cf. p. 157, l. 26.

15. *Arcadia*. The famous prose romance written by Sir Philip Sidney about 1580. The pastoral element forms the background to a courtly tale of chivalry.

Monsieur d'Urfé. Honoré d'Urfé, a French novelist and poet (1568-1625), wrote *Astrée*, a lengthy pastoral romance, describing the loves of Céladon and Astrée. The scene is laid on the banks of the Lignon du Nord, a small tributary on the left bank of the Loire, in the district of Forez (la Forrest), now part of the department of Loire.

18. *Chertsea*. Chertsey is a small town in Surrey, near the Thames, between Staines and Weybridge. Cowley lived there from 1665 till his death.

24. *Exchange*. The original Royal Exchange in London was built by Sir Thomas Gresham, 1566-71, as a place where merchants might assemble to transact business.

25. *Westminster-Hall*. See note to p. 125, l. 18.

28. *go a whoring after it*. In the O. T. the abandonment of the national religion for other worships is often described as 'going a whoring after other gods', e.g. Exod. xxxiv. 14-16, probably in allusion to the impure Canaanite cults Israel is regarded by the prophets as espoused to Jehovah.

PAGE 204. 6, 7. *Mundum ducere*, 'To take the world to wife'. *Mundo nubere*, 'To marry the world, as one's husband'. These Roman terms for marrying imply the pre-dominance of the husband, *ducere* meaning 'to lead', and *nubere* 'to veil (for)'.

14. *Claudian's Old Man of Verona*. Claudius Claudianus, or Claudian, who flourished c. A.D. 400, is generally reckoned the last classical poet of Rome. His poems are chiefly panegyrics and epics. These verses are a translation of the second of his *Epigrammata*, 'Felix qui patriis aevum transigit in agris.'

21. *propension*. 'A leaning forward', 'stooping.'

29. *No change of Consuls* . . . 'Frugibus alternis, non consule, computat annum'. The two Roman Consuls were elected annually, and it was a common practice to date an event by the names of the Consuls in the year of its occurrence.

PAGE 205. 3-4. *has found For the whole day* . . . He can tell the time of day by the shadows of the trees on his land, &c.

Idem condit ager soles idemque reducit,
metiturque suo rusticus orbe diem.

7. *HPas*. A contraction for *He has*.

10. *Benacus Lake*. The Lago di Garda, near Verona.

11. *to' a third age*. 'To the third generation'. The apostrophe denotes elision of the preceding vowel.

9. THE SHORTNESS OF LIFE AND UNCERTAINTY OF RICHES

22. *impertinent Coxcomb*. A fool who occupies himself with things irrelevant to the business in hand. *Coxcomb* meant originally a kind of cap shaped like the comb of a cock, worn by professional fools and jesters; hence a fool. The transition to the modern sense of a showy, conceited person is similar to that of *fop*. Cf. note to p. 131, l. 21.

PAGE 206. 1. *Pas de Vie*. 'The Straits of Life'. *Pas de Calais* is the French name for the Straits of Dover.

2. 'Εφήμεροι. Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, viii. 135.

3. *our Saviour bounds our desires* . . . Matt. vi. 34: 'Take therefore no thought for the morrow', &c.; also the petition, 'Give us this day our daily bread'.

7. *The Sun ought not to set . . . no more then . . .* The double negative, common in earlier English, was becoming rare when Cowley wrote. The allusion is to Eph. iv. 26: 'Let not the sun go down upon your wrath.'

9. *to God Almighty* . . . 2 Pet. iii. 8: 'One day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.'

11. *Tam brevi fortis* . . . 'Though his strength endures so short a time, he aims at many things', an adaptation of Horace, *Odes*, II. xvi. 17: 'Quid brevi fortes iaculamur aevo Multa?'

13. *Millenaries*. Believers in the millennium, or reign of Christ and the saints on earth for a thousand years before the last judgement. See Rev. xx. 4-6. Faith in the impending fulfilment of this prediction inspired the Fifth Monarchy Men, who were prominent among the sectaries under the Commonwealth, and in 1661 raised an insurrection in London under Thomas Venner.

14. *The Patriarchs before the Flood*. Of the nine patriarchs before Noah, mentioned in Gen. v, six are said to have lived more than 900 years.

31. *as we are taught to pray*. Ps. xc. 12.

PAGE 207. 2. *Horace advises* . . . *Odes*, I. xi. 6.

8. *Vite summa brevis* . . . 'The short sum of life forbids us to embark upon a long hope'; Horace, *Odes*, I. iv. 15.

10. *Oh quanta dementia* . . . 'O how great is the madness of them who embark upon long hopes!' Seneca the Younger, *Epistulae ad Lucilium*, xvii. i (101).

12. *Senecio*. The description is from the same passage. The Senecio described by the elder Seneca (p. 179) appears to have been a different man.

15. *suddain*. From O.Fr. *sodain*, *sudain*.

16. *In ipso actu* . . . 'At the very moment when his affairs were turning out well, in the full tide of his advancing fortune'. Cowley alters *pecuniae* to *fortunae*.

20. *Insere nunc* . . . 'Come, Meliboeus, plant thy pear-trees, place thy vines in rows'; Vergil, *Eclogues*, i. 73. Meliboeus thus ironically addresses himself when about to go into exile.

22. *graff*. See note to p. 176, l. 22.

26. *St. Luke*. xii. 16-21.

PAGE 209. 6. *cut off thy Entail*. An entail is the settlement of an estate so that it is limited to a man and his heirs (or certain heirs). There were ways of evading the restriction by legal fictions, i.e. of 'cutting off the entail'. The process was legalized under certain conditions by Act of Parliament in 1833.

Stanza 4. Cowley has here changed the rime-scheme from *abbb* to *abab*.

12. *Husband*. In the obsolete sense of 'a thrifty manager'. Cf. the vb. to *husband*, also *husbandry*, *husbandman*. *Hus-*

band, Old Eng. *húsbonda*, from Old Norse *húsbondi*, means a householder, lit. 'occupant of a house'.

13, 14. *while . . . Toil*. See note to p. 135, ll. 7, 9.

21. *travail*: i. e. travel. See note to p. 81, l. 17.

PAGE 210. 1. *the Ant*. See note to p. 193, l. 10.

3. *Grasshoppers*. Cf. the fable, in Aesop and La Fontaine (i. 1), of the ant and the grasshopper (or cicada). The former collected a hoard during the summer, while the latter sang. On the approach of winter she begged food of the ant, who told her that, as she had sung in the summer, she should dance in the winter. Grasshoppers normally die at the end of summer, leaving their eggs to hatch in the spring.

22. *Cowley mark*. The present rule of placing commas before and after a vocative was not always observed by seventeenth-century writers.

10. THE DANGER OF PROCRASTINATING

PAGE 211. 2. *Mr. S. L.* This person has not been identified.

9. *Ærugo mera*. 'Pure rust'. The term is used figuratively by Horace, *Satires*, I. iv. 101, for malice or ill-will, apparently because it cankers the mind that harbours it.

16. *Cum dignitate otium*. 'Leisure with dignity'. A proverbial phrase used several times by Cicero, viz. *Pro Sestio*, 98; *Ep. ad Fam.*, I. ix. 21; *De Or.*, i. 1.

17. *Josua*. Joshua x. 12.

20. *After-game*. A second game played after bad luck in dice, &c., with the object of improving one's fortune. Cf. Milton, *Free Commonwealth* (1660), 427: 'Losing by a strange aftergame of Fortune all the battels we have won.'

21. *fling two Sixes*. The highest throw in dice.

26. *Idomeneus*. He was a native of Lampsacus, flourished c. 300 B. C., was a friend and disciple of Epicurus, and wrote philosophical and historical works. Little is known of his life. The youth Pythocles was also a disciple of Epicurus. Two fragments of letters addressed to him by Epicurus are preserved by Diogenes Laertius (x. 5, 6). The passage follows Seneca, *Epist. Mor.*, II. ix. § 7: 'Ad hunc [Idomeneus] Epicurus illam nobilem sententiam scripsit, qua hortatur, ut Pythoclea locupletem non publica nec ancipiti via faciat. Si vis, inquit, Pythoclea divitem facere, non pecuniae adiciendum, sed cupiditati detrahendum est.'

PAGE 212. 18. *Le jeu ne vaut pas la Chandele*. Cf.

Corneille, *Le Menteur* (1643), I. i: 'Le jeu, comme on dit, ne vaut pas les chandelles.' The saying is found also in *Iacula Prudentum*, a collection of proverbs left in manuscript by George Herbert at his death in 1633, in the form 'It is a poor sport that is not worth the candle'.

22. *Streamers*. 'Pennons'.

23. *Top-Gallants*. The top-gallant sail is attached to the top-gallant mast, which is above the top-mast of a large sailing ship. It may be carried away in a storm without great loss of sailing power.

Vtere velis . . . 'Use the sails, spread all the canvas'; Juvenal, i. 149.

25. *beaten up*. 'Assaulted', 'stormed'.

27. *Band*. 'Collar'.

30. *Festina lente*. 'Hasten slowly', i.e. the more haste, the less speed. This proverb is found in Suetonius, *Augustus*, 25, in its Greek form *σπεῦδε βραδέως*.

PAGE 213. 2. *Horace's advice*. See below, note to l. 8.

4. *the Getting out of doors* . . . A translation of the proverb that follows. It is found in Varro, *De Re Rustica*, I. ii. 2. Cf. the French proverb: *Ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte*, and the Italian: *Il più duro passo è quel della soglia*.

8. *Sapere aude* . . . Horace, *Epistles*, I. ii. 40 ff. Better translated by Conington:

Come now, have courage to be wise: begin: . . .
He who puts off the time for mending, stands
A clodpoll by the stream with folded hands,
Waiting till all the water be gone past;
But it runs on, and will, while time shall last.

The inexactitude of Cowley's scholarship is shown by the fact that he has made two errors in this quotation, each of which seriously affects the sense. He writes 'vivendi qui recte prorogat' for 'qui recte vivendi prorogat', and 'dum labitur' for 'dum defluat'.

18. *Cæsar*. I have not traced this absurd statement to its source. Cf. Cowley's lines (p. 128, l. 29):

Nor its set way o're Stiles and Bridges make,
Nor thorough Lanes a Compass take.

28. *Persius*. A Roman satirist (A. D. 34-62). His satires, though distinguished by great originality and force, are marred by obscurity of diction.

PAGE 214. 5. *Jam Cras* . . . 'We have already wasted

yesterday's morrow; lo! another morrow will have spent these years.' Persius, *Sat.*, v. 68. Cf. *Macbeth*, v. v. 19 ff.

17. *Triary*. Literally, the *triarii*, or soldiers of the third rank in a Roman army; hence 'reserves'. The English word, obsolete since the seventeenth century, was originally used in the pl. *triaries* for the individual soldiers, afterwards as a collective sing., on the analogy of *infantry*, &c. Cf. Hawke, *Killing No Murder*, 1657, p. 38: 'forced to his last reserve, and to bring up his triaries;' V. Alsop, *Mel. Inquir.*, 1679, II. viii. 368: 'This is the last retreat of these Gentlemen; hither they retire as to their Triary and strong reserve.'

20. *Vale*. 'Farewell', a word usual at the end of a Latin letter.

PAGE 215. 2. *you who instruct the Town* . . . This epigram is addressed to the famous rhetorician Quintilian (c. A. D. 40-118), who, like Martial himself, came from the neighbourhood of Calagurris in Spain. *The sacred gown* is the Roman toga, the ceremonial dress worn by orators.

8. *preposterous*. Reversing the natural order. This is the proper sense of the word, as of the Lat. *praeposterus*, from *prae*, before; *post*, after.

12. *My humble thoughts . . . reflected Light*. 'I need no gilt ceiling in my hall, but am content so long as there is a fire on the hearth to gild it with its light.'

II. OF MY SELF

27. *nice*. 'Delicate', 'ticklish', 'requiring tact'.

28. *grates his own heart*. In this sense we now say 'grates upon'.

PAGE 216. 6. *remarkable on the defective side*: i.e. notably vicious or foolish.

14. *affections*. In a neutral sense, 'disposition', 'temper', like Lat. *affectio*.

15. *some Plants are said to turn away from others*. No such fact seems to be known to botanists, although it is possible that the odours or other emanations of some plants are injurious to their neighbours.

18. *School*. Westminster.

25. *to learn without Book the common rules of Grammar*. To learn the Latin grammar by heart. Lilye's Grammar was taught in this way in English grammar schools. Cowley means that he learnt the rules of Latin verse and prose composition by observation of Latin authors.

27. *dispensed with me*. 'Granted me a dispensation, or exceptional permission'. An obsolete sense of the verb.

31. *an Ode*. The poem, of which these are the concluding verses, was published in the volume called *Sylva* in 1636, when Cowley was seventeen or eighteen. It is there entitled 'A Vote', i.e. a prayer. He has here made a few slight improvements, of which the chief are 'The unknown' for 'Th' ignote' in the fifth line, and 'I would have' for 'I would hug' in the seventh.

PAGE 217. 13. *entertain the Light*. 'Occupy the day'.

19. *pleasures yeild*: i.e. my garden should yield pleasures that Horace, &c. For Horace's 'Sabine field' see note to p. 152, l. 21.

PAGE 218. 2. *taken out of Horace. Odes*, III. xxix. 41-45: 'ille potens sui Laetusque deget, cui licet in diem Dixisse "Vixi": cras vel atra Nube polum pater occupato, Vel sole puro . . .'

16. *Spencers Works*. The works of Edmund Spenser, especially, of course, *The Faerie Queen*.

19. *brave Houses*. Probably in the literal sense, as the houses of Pride (*F. Q.*, I. iv), Holiness (I. x), Temperance (II. ix), Mercilla (v. ix).

28. *that violent Publick storm*. The Civil War, which broke out in 1642. In March, 1644, the Solemn League and Covenant was forced upon the University of Cambridge, and Cowley and many other Fellows of Trinity were ejected for refusing to subscribe, or for absence, which was treated as refusal. In the Latin elegy dedicated to the University which Cowley prefixed to his collected works he uses very similar language:

Scis bene, scis quae me Tempestas publica Mundi
Raptatrix vestro sustulit e gremio.

PAGE 219. 2. *every Plant* . . . In 1 Kings iv. 33, it is said of Solomon, 'He spake of trees, from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall.' The hyssop of the Bible has not been identified. It was not the garden herb now known by the name (*Hyssopus officinalis*), which is not a native of Palestine. Cowley uses it as a type of lowliness.

5. *one of the best Persons*. Probably Henry Jermyn, made Baron Jermyn in 1643, and first Earl of St. Albans in 1660. He was secretary to Queen Henrietta Maria, and obtained employment in her service for Cowley. His character hardly corresponded to this description. See Introduction, p. xv.

6. *one of the best Princesses.* Queen Henrietta Maria.

10. *Militant and Triumphant.* The words were originally associated in their application to the Church. The English court was 'militant' in exile in Paris, from which place it directed the Royalists at war in England; the French court under Anne of Austria, and from 1651 under Louis XIV, was 'triumphant' over the Imperialists and Spaniards abroad, and insurgents at home.

23. *rid.* The Old Eng. *ridan*, to ride, made its past tense *rād*, pl. *ridon*. The obsolete past tense *rid* is from the latter form. Cowley also uses *rod*; see p. 178, l. 6.

28. *eate.* There were two forms of the past tense of Old Eng. *etan*, to eat, viz. *æt*, whence Mod. Eng. *ate*, and *et*, whence the form *eat*, now nearly, if not quite, obsolete.

PAGE 220. 3. *Well then; I now do plainly see . . .* This is the beginning of a poem entitled 'The Wish', in Cowley's collection called *The Mistress*. The first stanza continues:

The very Honey of all earthly joy
Does of all meats the soonest cloy,
And they (methinks) deserve my pity,
Who for it can endure the stings,
The Crowd, and Buz, and Murmurings
Of this great Hive, the City.

The poet then expresses his wish for rural seclusion, innocent ease and love.

13. *Apollo.* The inspirer of prophets and of poets.

15. *Thou, neither great at Court . . .* The comma serves to add weight to the preceding word. The lines are from Cowley's Pindarique Ode on 'Destinie'. The Muse addressed him at his birth in these words:

Thou of my Church shalt be,
Hate and renounce (said she)
Wealth, Honor, Pleasures, all the World for Me.
Thou, neither great, &c.

The lines are probably suggested by Horace, *Odes*, iv. iii, 'Quem tu, Melpomene . . .'

The Ode continues:

She spake, and all my years to come
Took their unlucky Doom.
Their several ways of Life let others chuse,
Their several pleasures let them use,
But I was born for Love, and for a Muse.

With *Fate* what boots it to contend?
 Such I *began*, such *am*, and so must *end*.
 The *Star* that did my *Being* frame,
 Was but a *Lambent Flame*,
 And some small *Light* it did dispence,
 But neither *Heat* nor *Influence*.
 No Matter, *Cowley*, let proud *Fortune* see,
 That *thou* canst *her* despise no less than *she* does *Thee*.
 Let all her gifts the portion be
 Of Folly, Lust, and Flattery,
 Fraud, Extortion, Calumnie,
 Murder, Infidelitie,
 Rebellion and Hypocrisie.
 Do Thou nor *grieve* nor *blush* to be,
 As all th' inspired *tuneful Men*,
 And all thy great *Forefathers* were from *Homer* down to *Ben*.

These verses, which Cowley had published at the age of thirty-eight, show, as do other of his writings, that while highly prizing his poetic vocation, he could not resign himself without a severe effort to the thought of a purely literary reputation. To say that he was 'born for love' sounds like affectation, but a few years before (1647) he had published his much admired *Mistress*.

Ben is the name by which Ben Jonson (one of the latest of eminent poets, as Homer was the earliest) was familiarly known to his contemporaries.

20. *by the failing of the Forces* . . . In spite of his failure to obtain from Charles II the mastership of the Savoy Hospital, a sinecure which would have enabled him to live in comfort and leisure, Cowley persisted in his resolve to live in retirement, and devote himself to study.

Later editions read *acquit* for *quit*, in the sense of 'achieve', 'effect'; but this alteration is due to a misunderstanding of the passage.

22. *A Corps Perdu*. 'Headlong'.

23. *capitulations*. 'Conditions', 'terms'.

24. *God laughs at a Man* . . . St. Luke xii. 16-21.

27. *sickness*. Sprat says that Cowley suffered from a dangerous fever at Barn Elms in December, 1663. His house there was in an unhealthy, marshy situation.

PAGE 221. 1. *Non ego perfidum* . . . 'It is no faithless oath that I have sworn', Horace, *Odes*, II. xvii. 9.

6. *Nec vos, dulcissima mundi* . . . These lines, which con-

tain a false quantity (*hortique*), are perhaps taken from some composition of Cowley's own.

23. *Quantum Sufficit*. 'As much as suffices.' The term is used in medical prescriptions in the abbreviated form *quant. suff.* There is no trace of this pharmaceutical metaphor in Martial's epigram.

PAGE 222. 4. *a Vestal Flame*. The fire on the altar of Vesta at Rome was kept continually burning, Vesta being goddess of the hearth. Martial has '*focus perennis*'. He refers to the practice of allowing the kitchen fire to burn all night.

12. *Ana*. This word, from the Greek adverb *ἀνά*, 'through-out', is used in prescriptions to signify equal quantities of the ingredients.

PAGE 223. 6. *The House maintains the ground*: i.e. in the city of Rome the high ground-rent has to be paid from the proceeds of the industry or trade carried on in the house. Martial has '*Pascitur hic, ibi pascit ager*'.

19. *score*. 'Record', 'count up'.

21. *Epitaphium Vivi Auctoris*. 'An epitaph on the living author.' These verses are in the Alcaic metre, which was largely used by Horace in his Odes. The following is a literal rendering:

'Here, wayfarer, beneath this little roof, here is Cowley buried, here he lies, having fulfilled the lot of human toil, and done with the vanity of living. Splendid in honorable poverty, he nobly employed a leisure free from sloth, a bold foe to wealth that the vain rabble loves. To prove him dead, behold how little earth is now enough for him. Pray, wayfarer, that this earth may be untroubled and light upon him. Here scatter flowers, scatter short-lived roses, for the life of the dead rejoices in flowers, and crown the still warm ashes of the bard with fragrant herbs.'

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